

THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

BY
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'SIR GILBERT LEIGH,' "FROM POVERTY TO PLINY," ETC., ETC
AND
L. REES

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, TO

ISHBEL,

COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN,

WHO ADDS THE FORTITUDE OF CORNELIA

TO THE CHARITY OF DORCAS,

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED AS A TOKEN

OF RESPECT.

INTRODUCTION.

THE two great events which have taken place during the nineteenth century, and which must, beyond all others, influence the future of the world, are the rapid progress of the United States of America, and the foundation and growth of the great system of colonies belonging to the British Empire. All other matters recorded—the relative power of the nations of Continental Europe; the story of their wars and rivalries—cannot alter the future course of human progress, but the marvellous development of a few communities scattered along the eastern sea-board of the North American Continent into the mightiest and most wealthy nation that the world has seen; the extension of the colonies of the British Empire over such considerable portions of the whole surface of the habitable globe; and the establishment of numerous free and prosperous states in Canada, in South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, and Polynesia, in which the surplus population of European nations, especially of the English-speaking races, may find homes and subsistence for centuries to come, are the real factors of history for this period.

All events happening in the early period of this rapid expansion of free nations; all purposes formed by those connected with their establishment, the

hopes which animated the leaders of this great movement, their actions, their triumphs or defeats, the methods by which they met and overcame all difficulties, and the destiny towards which they worked, should all be of surpassing interest to the student, to the politician, to the philosopher, to the Christian, and to the patriot.

The childhood of history beheld the sceptre of dominion swayed by the Eastern nations. Civilization, progress, and knowledge were confined to Asia. For more than two thousand years Europe has led and ruled the world. The nineteenth century of the Christian era has seen the nations of the future spring into existence. The one portion of Europe destined to exercise influence upon succeeding generations is comprised in the British Islands, and that only as a member of a great federation of the English-speaking peoples. As the Western immigrations of many tribes laid the foundations of those new states which distanced the Asiatics in knowledge and power, so the world-wide colonies of Britain have, within the memory of living men, reached a magnitude of commerce and attained a fulness of liberty before unparalleled.

Boastful though such a statement may appear, it is, humanly speaking, certain that in the lifetime of multitudes now born into the world, the English-speaking race will dominate and control the earth.

Regarding the development of the United States, the writers of these pages do not propose to speak, and comparatively but little notice will be directed to the great group of colonies forming the Dominion of Canada.

The life and times of Sir George Grey are more particularly identified with those vast colonial possessions which loom below the Southern horizon, and

are spread out in their boundless plenitude beneath the Southern skies.

The reign of Victoria, auspicious beyond precedent in history, has witnessed and encouraged the growth of the family of nations now resting beneath the shadow of the English flag. As will be seen, the connection between Sir George Grey and this immense Colonial Empire is absolutely contemporaneous with the period of the reign of Victoria. There are in the world two human beings, and two only, who from the month of June, 1837, till the present day, have been ceaselessly and intimately connected with the progress and development, the happiness and welfare of the colonial portion of that Empire upon which the sun never sets, whose interest in the colonies has never ceased, and who have occupied, without intermission, positions of trust and responsibility in relation to them. The first is Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen—the second is her servant, Sir George Grey.

To the student of colonial history, and to all those who desire to acquire knowledge as to the destination and probable happiness of future generations, the records of a life spent in the service of humanity, and intimately associated with the foundation and establishment of many colonies, must necessarily be full of interest as well as instruction. It is impossible fully to portray the vast series of circumstances, to reproduce the volumes of correspondence, or to particularize the innumerable incidents, which have gone to make up the busy history of over fifty years of life identified with exploration; with politics, with wars, and social life in the colonial world. A task so gigantic would require time and means of access to innumerable sources of information, so wide and extensive as to preclude the possibility of a successful result. But

to sketch the main features of early colonial life, to give the outline of wars between different races, of the establishment of settled government and social institutions, of religion, of commerce, of learning, and of other leading and more prominent events, which have transpired in a varied and wonderful career, is an end which may be attained, although, perhaps, not so successfully, or with such precision of outline or truth of colouring, as might be desired.

But even though imperfectly attempted, yet the record of such a life and of the great principles which have been its motive power in laying wide and deep the foundations of future civilization, must possess intrinsic value and substantial worth.

In that portion of this volume which deals with Sir G. Grey's administration in South Australia, we have been hampered by want of information. Many interesting papers relating to that period were either lost in the fire at Government House, in Auckland, in 1846, or presented by the Governor, together with his private library, to the people of Cape Colony.

Much that would have been deeply interesting in the records of social life, of explorations, of public works, and political events, is thus beyond our reach, and our sketch of the main features of Sir G. Grey's Government of that Colony will doubtless appear to many who lived there at the time, in many respects bare, meagre, and devoid of colour. In one case—that of Mr. Angas—we have unwittingly given a false impression by appearing to endorse the harsh opinion which he expressed of his colonial agent. As a matter of fact, time has fully vindicated the judgment and actions of that gentleman, which resulted in an immense increase in the value of the estate he managed for Mr. Angas.

Throughout his life Sir George Grey has felt a

peculiar affection for the colony which he first governed—for its climate, its scenery, but above all, for its people, who presented a marked contrast to the usual type of settlers in a new country. To his mind there has ever appeared great similarity in character between the Puritan founders of the New England States and the early colonists of South Australia.

Conscious of many imperfections, of the omission of much that should find a place, and the admission of some things which, perchance, critics may say should have been relegated to obscurity, the writers of these pages acknowledge only two considerations:—One, to give in a connected form the incidents, the adventures, and the achievements of a life at once noble and beneficent; the other, to preserve the record of principles, of actions, and of aspirations which are likely to influence for good the youth of this and of succeeding generations. To every heart which hopes for the reign of peace and happiness upon the earth, to every mind which looks forward to the ultimate dominion of the English races in the world, and the peaceful solution of those great questions which now agitate humanity, Sir George Grey's biography will be welcome.

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Book the First.

BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS, 1812-1840.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE'S COMMENCEMENT.

"Like leaves on trees the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground,
Another race the following spring supplies;
They fall successive, and successive rise."

Pope.

EARLY in the second week of April, 1812, several English ladies, wives of officers on active service with Lord Wellington, were sitting together in a balcony at Lisbon. They were talking of the last news from headquarters, when they became aware, from conversations in the street beneath, that the town of Badajoz had been, for the third time, assaulted by the English forces. One of these English women was Mrs. Grey, whose husband, the Colonel of the 30th Regiment of Foot, was at the scene of active operations. Anxiety and eager interest were at once aroused, and each one listened with intense expectation to any sounds which arose from the street beneath.

A group of officers rode slowly by. "We have suffered terrible loss," said one, "in the storming of Badajoz. Poor Grey is gone at last!"

No sooner were these words heard than Mrs. Grey sank fainting from her seat. The statement was all

too true. Colonel Grey, who, at Alexandria, had led his regiment in the first bayonet charge against the revolutionary troops of France, had volunteered to lead the storming party at Badajoz, and, at the head of his column, had fallen in that terrible breach.

A few days afterwards, on the 14th of April, his son was born.

While it was natural that the lad should be trained to the profession of arms, several circumstances during childhood and early manhood served to give a decided tendency to the character and life of George Grey.

When staying, as a child, with a relative of his father, a banker in London, whose place of business was in 'Change Alley, his attention was often attracted to the tropical fruits exposed for sale by an aged woman, who, from long usage, had acquired a species of prescriptive right to keep her stall at the entrance of the alley. The child's imagination wandered away to the lands from whence the pineapples, the bananas, the oranges, and the cocoanuts had come, and he silently resolved that when he became a man he would travel to those distant regions which produced such treasures.

In early boyhood he was brought much under the notice and care of Dr. Whately, afterwards the celebrated Archbishop of Dublin, and from constant intercourse with that distinguished scholar he most probably received that logical and exact method of thought, as well as the ardent love for all scientific studies, which characterised him in after life.

Destined to follow in his father's steps, he was duly entered at Sandhurst, and achieved at that military college singular and unusual distinction.

George Grey gained the affection and esteem of his tutors, and kept up a regular correspondence with some of them during many years. They were pleased

to find the promise of his earlier years more than fulfilled in his colonial career, and were deeply interested in the results of his labours. There are in the Public Library in Auckland several very affectionate letters to Captain Grey from his former mathematical master at Sandhurst, Professor Narrieu, the author of a History of Astronomy, who evidently took the warmest interest in his former pupil's honourable and successful career. In a letter dated the 15th May, 1843, he expressed great pleasure at having received a communication from Captain Grey, and says he is much gratified by his appreciation of the course of studies pursued at Sandhurst. He says that it is very difficult to keep up the standard of proficiency in mathematics, as many think it unnecessarily high, but he has tried to do so; and adds, "You will not, therefore, be surprised to find that the number of officers who have carried away our highest class certificate—such as that which you had—is but few."

Nor was George Grey a favourite with the authorities alone. A clever, studious lad, more occupied and interested by books than out-door sports and games, is often regarded as a prig by his contemporaries; but there is no trace of this feeling towards Grey at Sandhurst. His superiority was frankly admitted, and always displayed in a way that challenged admiration certainly, but did not arouse jealousy or dislike.

We have a pleasant picture of the young military student at this time, given thirty-four years afterwards by a college mate, who recalled gratefully the days when Grey, "a bright, rosy-cheeked young subaltern of the 83rd Regiment, 'A1' in mathematics, fortifications, military survey, languages, and general knowledge, so kindly led my tottering steps over the 'Asses' Bridge.'"

CHAPTER II.

FIRST COMMISSION AND EARLY SERVICE IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

" Poor houseless wretches, wheresoe'er you are,
That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,
Your looped and windowed raggedness, defend you
From seasons such as these?"

King Lear.

IN the year 1830, George Grey, then aged eighteen, was gazetted ensign of the 83rd Regiment of Foot. Entering upon active service, he was quartered with his regiment, first at Glasgow, and afterwards at Dublin. In the latter city he was again brought into close contact with Dr. Whately. Endearred by old associations, and in a remote degree connected by marriage, the young soldier was a great favourite with the Archbishop, and had every opportunity of profiting by the wise counsels of his illustrious friend.

During four years' service in Ireland, his duty called him to various parts of the country, and brought him into contact with all classes of the people. At that time Ireland was in a most disturbed condition. The struggle for Catholic emancipation was indeed over, but the victory gained in the previous year had left a desire in the minds of the Irish for still greater freedom. After Daniel O'Connell had succeeded in forcing the Catholic Relief Bill through both Houses of Parliament, he began to clamour for the repeal of

"Union. Discontent, riots, murders perpetrated in the broad light of day, and crimes committed under cover of the darkness, were rife.

The spirit of the age, displayed on the Continent by the second French Revolution, and the rebellion of the people of Belgium against the union with Holland, led in Great Britain to a widely spread desire for Parliamentary Reform. Lord John Russell introduced a bill with this object. Being defeated in Committee, the Ministry appealed to the country. The elections throughout the United Kingdom were attended with serious riots and great tumult. The horrors of cholera added to the general misery and disorder.

The scenes of wretchedness which the young officer witnessed were never forgotten by him. Fifty years later, in reviewing the changing scenes and the many great affairs in which the active years of his life have been spent, Sir George Grey thus speaks of the influence which this first experience—the opening of his public life—exerted upon his future destiny:—

"I saw enough there to give a bias to my mind for ever as to the necessity for change and reform. It was really from a desire to find relief for that misery that I went to Australia. In all my walks on deck, on my first voyage, my mind was filled with the thought of what misery there was in the world, the hope there was in the new lands, and the greatness of the work of attempting to do something for the hopeless poor. The effort to get lands made by single individuals, seemed to me a wrong to humanity. To prevent such a monopoly in the new countries has been my task ever since. Even in the case of the missionaries I found the same desire for selfish gain. Sent out by the contributions of many whose gifts involved self-denial, I found them living in good

houses, enjoying a competence and an assured position, with pensions for their wives and children. It seemed to me a dreadful thing that they should have come out on purpose to gain great estates for themselves and their families, and to use their influence over the natives—and the influence which a missionary has over a converted native can scarcely be imagined—to make them agree to all this; and my heart sank still more when I found the missionaries, as a class, opposing with all their power, and with bitter persecution, all those who dared to make a stand for fair dealing—to uphold those principles of eternal justice which the missionaries themselves were sent to teach.”

The condition of the majority of the Irish people, and the terrible distress apparent in so many parts of Great Britain, made an indelible impression upon young Grey's mind. The desire of childhood to travel and explore distant lands had never weakened. The charm which imagination had thrown long since over the far-off countries beyond the sea still dwelt upon his mind and influenced his hopes. To this desire for travel and discovery was now added a motive power which never abated in its force throughout his life.

“He started in the race with a definite purpose—that of opening a new future and a new hope for Anglo-Saxondom and humanity in the boundless colonies of England. In those vast territories, washed by the waves of every sea, and canopied by every constellation, he trusted to see communities arise, untrammelled by the ancient prejudices, unhampered by the hoary superstitions and tyrannies of the past, free in the fullest sense; communities in which the facilities for success in life should be vastly increased, and where all talent, virtue, and worth, should have free play, and a fair held in every condition of life.

"Beholding, with sincere sympathy, the hopeless condition of the increasing multitudes of the poorer classes at home, he saw, on the other hand, a vast world, spreading its arms, and unfolding its boundless wealth for their acceptance. Food for the million-mouthed hungry, equal freedom and liberty for the down-trodden myriads were thus easily to be obtained. From the crowded hives of the United Kingdom—from the fields of Norfolk and Devonshire, from the hills of Scotland, and from the Green Isle of the West—a continual exodus of nations could wander forth to till the mighty solitudes, and gather the harvests of the world. And each nation, so planted on the fair bosom of the silent wastes, would be a home of liberty, where freedom would reign secure. With prophetic eye he saw the continents and islands of distant seas so rich and prosperous, so virtuous and free, so great and powerful, that no future Alexander or Napoleon could threaten the liberties of humanity.

"Thus, as it were, the master of a new school, he taught that from the giant oak of England, trained and hardened into strength and beauty by the toils and storms, the prayers and sufferings of a thousand years, there should be carried out into every region where man could dwell young seedlings to grow up for the protection and comfort of mankind. It may be that in youth he had heard that theory argued which traces the Anglo-Saxon race back to the loins of Abraham, and proves it heir of those glorious promises which God himself made to the far-off descendants of the Chaldaean Seer. Perchance in this way he formed the lofty ideas which filled him of the future dominance of his kindred, and which revealed to him their destiny as one of solitary grandeur and unapproachable greatness. As the years rolled on he saw them anchoring deeper and deeper in every quarter of

the earth, claiming and holding nearly all the habitable globe, every sea whitened by the sails of their commerce, every land ringing with their glorious tongue; and at the last, as if preparing in the providence of God for the final consummation of all things, he beheld that day dawn which shall herald the advent of peace from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. For, even judging by moral arguments and human logic, he believed that the united Anglo-Saxon powers would be so strong as to quell, by their mere existence, all warlike opposition, and constrain the families of mankind to decide their quarrels, not by the arbitrament of war, but by a congress of the nations.

“In the future of the race which he fondly loved he saw the possibility of a golden, a wonderful prosperity—a prosperity not merely material, but intellectual, scientific, moral, and religious. He looked forward to times and states in which free and happy nations should govern themselves by the most perfect and equal laws; and he hoped also to behold the young children of the mother of nations calmly solving many of the vexed questions of all time, and showing to the world how communities of free men could, without violence and without hate, become wise, and great, and good beyond all the examples of history.”*

* “The Great Pro-Cónsal.” Appendix to “Sir Gilbert Peigh.” pp. 234, 235. By W. L. Rees. Sampson Low, 1878. *Note.*—This extract is taken from a short sketch of Sir George Grey, written as an appendix to a novel, in 1878. The twelve years which have passed between that time and the penning of the present work have only shown Sir George Grey’s actions to be consistently influenced by the same hopes and ambitions which inspired him in early youth.

CHAPTER III.

APPOINTMENT TO CONDUCT EXPLORATIONS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

"This morning, like the spirit of a youth,
That means to be of note, begins betimes."
Antony and Cleopatra.

PERCEIVING no immediate prospect of employment in the colonies, Lieutenant Grey, together with a brother officer, also anxious to explore the wonders of the new lands—Lieutenant Lushington of the 9th Regiment of Foot—offered his services to the Royal Geographical Society for the exploration of North Western Australia. On the 16th of November, 1836, they received a favourable reply, and on the 28th the President of that Society brought before the Council the application of these two young officers. It was decided to approach Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, with a view to the co-operation of the Government in the proposed plan of exploration.

Lieutenant Grey was already acquainted with Lord Glenelg, whose brother, William Grant, was one of Grey's friends. The Government were, themselves, most anxious to become better acquainted with that vast and unknown portion of Australia which Grey and Lushington proposed to visit. No difficulty, therefore, was experienced in obtaining not only permission, but assistance from the Government.

The opinion was held by celebrated navigators,

among whom were Dampier and King, that a great river or a large inlet would be found to give access to the interior of Australia from the north or north-west coast. It was chiefly with the hope that such a discovery might be made that the exploring expedition was formally decided upon by the Government.

On the 6th of February, 1837, two years' leave of absence, dated from the Horse Guards, was granted by Sir J. Macdonald, to Lieutenant Grey, for the purpose of exploration in New Holland. Four months later the two young officers received their instructions from Downing Street. They were informed that H.M.S. Beagle had been appointed to survey the north-west coast between Dampier's Archipelago and Cambridge Gulf, and that they had been appointed to explore the interior of the same part. The purpose and conduct of the expedition are summarised in the following short quotations from this despatch. "The immediate object of this exploration is that of gaining information as to the real state of the interior of North Western Australia, its resources, and the course and direction of its rivers and mountain ranges, as well as familiarizing the natives with the British name and character." . . . "Lieutenant Grey, the senior military officer, is considered as commanding the party" (despatch signed "Glenelg").

Thus, at the early age of twenty-four, Lieutenant Grey was selected to proceed upon a dangerous and important mission, and immediately after his twenty-fifth birthday, was regularly commissioned by His Majesty's Government to take charge of the expedition. The days following the 1st of June were spent in taking leave of friends. The parting between the young explorer and his mother must have called vividly to her mind the fact that she had given her husband to the service of her country, and might

possibly now, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, be called on to resign her son.

The two comrades proceeded to Plymouth for the purpose of joining H.M.S. Beagle. A day or two after their arrival at Plymouth, and while they were waiting for their ship to start, William IV. died, and they were eye-witnesses as well as auditors of the proclamations issued by the Mayor of Plymouth, on the accession of Victoria as Queen of England. Their commissions were nine days old at this time.

A fortnight passed away before all necessary stores and equipments had been shipped on board the Beagle. Then, finally, farewell was bidden to the friends who had come to Plymouth to see them depart, the anchor was weighed, and the Beagle, passing beyond the breakwater and the Eddystone, sailed on her southern voyage.

The hopes and ambitions which, since childhood, had grown up in the mind of George Grey thus seemed to be in a fair way of attainment. It is a strange and peculiar coincidence that the commencement of his career, as directly connected with the colonies, is contemporaneous with the reign of Victoria. It could not, by any possibility, have suggested itself to the mind of the voyager, that for upwards of half a century the young queen should sit upon the throne of her fathers, and that he, as her servant, should be engaged in many ways and in many lands in the public service of the Empire, and in direct connection with the colonies.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST OUTWARD VOYAGE.—FORECAST OF FUTURE LIFE.

“ Adieu ! Adieu ! My native shore
Fades o’er the waters blue.”

Ryron.

As the ship left the shores of his native land, and gradually won her way towards the tropics, the hopes and purposes which had before been shadowed in Grey’s mind began to assume more definite shapes and proportions. Often pacing the deck alone at night beneath the quiet stars of the tropics, or when, in colder latitudes, the rounded sails were gleaming in the moonlight, and the ship, with a fresh breeze behind her, was impatiently mounting the white-crested waves and winging her way to the new lands, plans for the future of his own work and toil, and for the benefit especially of the poorer classes of his countrymen, mulded and worked themselves out in George Grey’s mind. He determined not merely to prosecute explorations and to discover great territories, but to devote the energies of his life to the new purpose of ameliorating the condition of the masses of his people. His mind, though not enthusiastic, was always characterized by excessive strength of opinion and determination of purpose. A plan once formed was never relinquished. A determination once taken, no vacillation was allowed. No hesitation

stayed his hand or foot in the accomplishment of the end he had proposed to himself. Cut off from the ordinary circles of friendship in England, started upon the voyage which meant the commencement of an active life, he could not avoid continuous thought upon the great purposes which he desired to accomplish.

The first break in the journey after leaving Plymouth was at Teneriffe, on the 19th of July. Anchoring off the quaint city of Santa Cruz, the Beagle stayed till the afternoon of the 23rd. This time was pleasantly spent by young Grey in expeditions across the island to various interesting spots, in taking a series of magnetic observations, and in collating a vocabulary of the language of the Guanches—a race who held possession of the Canary Islands about fifteen hundred years ago, but who passed out of existence within the century. He was much interested in noting other evidences of the occupation of the islands by these people, particularly an inaccessible cave, the opening of which was filled with their bones. Grey could only account for their being there by the supposition that they had gained the cave from the interior of the country or by a winding path on the face of the cliff, which had afterwards been destroyed and their retreat cut off. The stay here was accompanied by the usual difficulty experienced by a foreigner in making himself understood. This was peculiarly noticeable in Grey's case when it was to the interest of the residents not to understand.

The voyage from Teneriffe to Bahia was uneventful, though very pleasant. The anchor was dropped in the harbour of the latter place on August 17th. The beauty and luxuriance of the vegetation, the bountifulness of nature, awakened in the young explorer's mind "those wild and indescribable feelings which accompany the first entrance into a rich tropical

country." Speaking of a walk on the evening of his arrival, he says, "The luxuriant foliage, expanding in magnificent variety, the brightness of the stars above, the dazzling brilliancy of the fireflies around me, the breeze laden with balmy smells, and the busy hum of insect life making the deep woods vocal, at first oppress the senses with a feeling of novelty and strangeness, till the mind appears to hover between the realms of truth and falsehood."

On the 25th the Beagle left the shores of Brazil and set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, which they reached on the 22nd of September. Finding that a vessel could be procured here more readily and economically than at Swan River, where they had previously intended to hire one for the expedition, they engaged the *Lynher*, a schooner of about 140 tons. From this time till the 12th of October every moment was occupied with preparations for departure, engaging a few additional men of good character, embarking live stock (sheep and goats and dogs), collecting useful plants, vegetables, and fruits that would be likely to thrive in the new land, laying in necessary stores, and making all business arrangements.

The party consisted of twelve, besides the captain, mate, and crew of the schooner. The plan resolved on was to proceed to Hanover Bay, to select a good spot there for a temporary encampment, and, having landed the stock, to send away the schooner, under Lieutenant Lushington's command, to Timor for ponies. Embarking on the evening of October 12th, the *Lynher* hove anchor, and sailed away early next morning.

Lieutenant Grey very briefly speaks of his feelings and plans in the following passage:—"Great, then, was my joy when all my preparations were completed and I felt the vessel gliding swiftly from Table Bay

into that vast ocean at the other extremity of which lay the land I so longed to see, and to which I was now bound, with the ardent hope of opening the way for the conversion of a barren wilderness into a fruitful garden.

“Part of my plan was not only to introduce all useful animals that I possibly could into this part of Australia, but also the most valuable plants of every description. For this purpose a collection has been made at Teneriffe by Mr. Walker, under my direction, and another in South America, including the seeds of the cotton plant. From the Cape and from England I had also procured other useful plants, and had planned that the vessel, on quitting Timor with the horses, should be filled in every vacant space with young cocoanut trees and other fruits, together with useful animals, such as goats and sheep, in addition to the stock we conveyed from the Cape.”

CHAPTER V.

FIRST EXPLORATION.

“ O'er mountain routes
And over wild wolds clouded up with brush,
And cut with marshes perilously deep--
So went they forth at dawn ; at eve the sun,
That rose behind them as they journeyed out,
Was firing with his nether rim a range
Of unknown mountains that like ramparts towered
Full in their front ; and his last glances fell
Into the gloomy forest's eastern glades
In golden gleams.”

Charles Harpur.

LIEUTENANT GREY landed near Hanover Bay on December 3rd, 1837. He and a small party went ashore to find water, but the nature of the country made it so difficult to proceed, and the heat was so terrible, that they lost three dogs, two of whom died on the spot where they fell exhausted. After staggering on over rocks, that seemed like ruined mountains, for a whole day and a great part of the night, the men came to a halt on the sea beach.

Grey and Corporal Coles followed the coast for some distance further, but were stopped by an arm of the sea, about 500 yards wide. It was necessary for the safety of the party that this should be crossed, as the ship was to meet them further along the coast. The tide was ebbing out to sea with tremendous swiftness. At this place the difference between high and low tide is 38 feet, and many portions of comparatively high land are completely submerged at flood tide. Coles was unfit to attempt the swimming

of the stream. The presence of hostile natives on the opposite shore made it an extremely dangerous undertaking. But the lives of all the party were in peril, and Grey plunged into the current, at first holding his pistol above the water with one hand, but was soon obliged to use both hands in making way against the rushing water, which would have carried him out to sea. He reached the other side, exhausted, naked, and wounded from clambering over the sharp rocks. He heard the shouts of the savages, as they answered each other, from every side. Taking refuge from the natives in a cave, he was overcome with exhaustion, and fell asleep. Finally, he was awakened and taken off, towards morning, by a boat's crew who were searching for him.

The rest of the month was occupied in forming a camping ground, as headquarters and base of operations. After landing a large supply of provisions, the schooner, which had brought them, sailed for Timor, to fetch horses and fresh stores. Meanwhile, Grey, with three or four men, explored the country to some distance from the Prince Regent river, but in an almost parallel course.

Finding indications of the proximity of large numbers of natives, they took all possible precautions to avoid being surprised. Grey thus writes of the situation :—"In the event of anything happening to one of the three, our return to the main party might be considerably impeded, if not altogether prevented; and although from the superiority of our weapons over theirs, I entertained but little doubt of the issue of any contest we might be forced into, the calls of humanity as well as of personal interest, warned me to do my utmost to avoid an affray."*

* "Journal of Two Expeditions in North-West and Western Australia." Vol. I., p. 105. By George Grey.

The first actual meeting with these savages occurred a few days later. No further signs of the natives had been seen, and the three Englishmen had somewhat relaxed in their watchfulness. Compelled by a sudden and violent storm to seek shelter they doubled back about a hundred yards to the left of their former track. What followed is best described by another quotation from the work just mentioned: "Scarcely had we reached these rocks, and sheltered ourselves under the overhanging projections, when I saw a savage approaching with a spear in his right hand, and a bundle of similar weapons in his left; he was followed by a party of thirteen others, and with them was a small dog—not of the kind common to this country. The men were curiously painted for war, red being the predominant colour, and each man carried several spears, a throwing stick and a club. Their chief was in front, and distinguished by his hair being of a dark red colour from some composition with which it was smeared; the others followed him close, noiselessly, and with stealthy pace, one by one, whilst he, crouching almost to the earth, pricked off our trail!

"We remained concealed and motionless until they had all passed, but the moment they came to where we had turned off, they discovered our retreat, and raised loud shouts of triumph, as, forming themselves into a semicircle, they advanced upon us, brandishing their spears, and bounding from rock to rock. It was in vain that I made friendly signs and gestures, they still closed upon us, and to my surprise I heard their war-cry answered by a party who were coming over the high rocks in our rear, which I had flattered myself protected us in that direction.

"Our situation was now so critical that I was compelled to assume a hostile attitude. I therefore

shouted in answer to their cries, and desiring the men to fire one at a time, if I gave the word, I advanced rapidly, at the same time firing one barrel over their heads. This had the desired effect. With the exception of one more resolute than the rest, they fled on all sides, and he, finding his efforts unavailing, soon followed their example.

"Feeling, however, that the neighbourhood we were in was a dangerous one, and being anxious to know whether the party I had left at the encampment—only six in number—had seen these natives, I hurried our march, although the rain fell in torrents all day, and we that night made the camp."

Christmas Day was spent at the camp, all dining together "in a little booth made of boughs, which we dressed up as gaily as we could. I could not but feel considerable pleasure in seeing the happy countenances of the men ranged round the rough plank that formed our table."

On New Year's Day a ceremony like that which marks a similar festival in China took place. With the first ray of light Grey commenced to plant, in favourable situations, seeds of all the most useful vegetables and fruits he had brought with him—a valuable New Year's gift to the country. When the schooner returned with the horses, great difficulty was experienced in bringing them to the camp, owing to the steep and broken nature of the country; and the undertaking was not without its perils. On the 29th of January we can picture Lieutenant Grey sitting on the head of a pack horse which had been knocked down by a projecting rock, while passing along a narrow track on the face of a cliff, at the edge of a precipice 150 feet deep. Those who have had no acquaintance with such perils read with wonder that even at that moment of anxiety and personal danger

Grey found leisure to appreciate the beauty of the scene around, and the romantic situation. Happily, the adventure led to no serious results. By cutting the girths of the saddle, and allowing the pack to fall over the precipice, a chance to recover itself was given to the pony, which then regained its footing.

When the depôt had been stocked, the party set out on the serious business of the expedition. The map accompanying Grey's account of the explorations shows very little progress at first, for the ponies were weak from exposure and unaccustomed food. On February 4th two miles was the distance accomplished. The rainy season had set in, and the gullies and passes of the hills were flooded. The consequence was that, after ten days of most fatiguing journeys, during which seven ponies died, and several of the remaining nineteen became weak and suffered injuries, the party had only just reached the high lands on the other side of the stony ranges, not more than a day's march if the proper route could have been taken.

On February 11th, when they were in high hopes of reaching a tolerably level country, Grey, Coles, and another man were attacked by a large body of natives. The explorers were totally unprepared for the onslaught, although vague cries had resounded from different points, and been echoed from great distances earlier in the day. These sounds were so indistinct in character that the little party decided they were not human voices. One of the men being absent rather longer than usual on his task of notching the bark of certain trees to serve as a land-mark, Grey grew slightly anxious. To quote his own words:—

"I called loudly to him, but received no answer, and therefore passed round some rocks which hid the tree from my view to look after him. Suddenly I

saw him close to me, breathless, and speechless with terror, and a native with his spear fixed in a throwing-stick, in full pursuit of him. Immediately numbers of other natives burst upon my sight; each tree, each rock, seemed to give forth its black denizens, as if by enchantment.

"A moment before the most solemn silence pervaded these woods; we deemed that not a human being moved within miles of us; and now they rang with savage and ferocious yells, and fierce armed men crowded round us on every side, bent on our destruction.

"There was something very terrible in so complete and sudden a surprise. Certain death appeared to stare us in the face; and from the determined and resolute air of our opponents I immediately guessed that the man who had first seen them, instead of boldly standing his ground, and calling to Coles and myself for assistance, had at once, like a coward, run away, thus giving the natives confidence in themselves, and a contempt for us; and this conjecture I afterwards ascertained was perfectly true.

"We were now fairly engaged for our lives; escape was impossible, and surrender to such enemies out of the question.

"As soon as I saw the natives around me I fired one barrel of my gun over the head of him who was pursuing my dismayed attendant, hoping the report would have checked his further career. He proved to be the tall man seen at the camp, painted with white. My shot stopped him not; he still closed on us, and his spear whistled by my head; but whilst he was fixing another in his throwing-stick a ball from my second barrel struck him in the arm, and it fell powerless by his side. He now retired behind a rock, but the others still pressed on.

"I now made the two men retire behind some neighbouring rocks, which formed a kind of protecting parapet along our front and right flank, whilst I took post on the left. Both my barrels were now exhausted; and I desired the other two to fire separately whilst I was reloading; but to my horror, Coles, who was armed with my rifle, reported hurriedly that the cloth case with which he had covered it for protection against rain had become entangled. His services were thus lost at a most critical moment, whilst trying to tear off the lock cover; and the other man was so paralysed with fear that he could do nothing but cry out, 'Oh, God! sir, look at them; look at them!'

"In the meantime, our opponents pressed more closely round; their spears kept whistling by us, and our fate seemed inevitable. The light-coloured man, spoken of at the camp, now appeared to direct their movements. He sprang forward to a rock not more than thirty yards from us, and posting himself behind it, threw a spear, with such deadly force and aim, that had I not drawn myself forward by a sudden jerk, it must have gone through my body, and as it was, it touched my back in flying by. Another well-directed spear, from a different hand, would have pierced me in the breast, but in the motion I made to avoid it, it struck upon the stock of my gun, of which it carried away a portion by its force.

"All this took place in a few seconds of time, and no shot had been fired but by me. I now recognized in the light-coloured man an old enemy who had led on the former attack against me on the 22nd of December. By his cries and gestures he now appeared to be urging the others to surround and press on us, which they were rapidly doing.

"I saw now that but one thing could be done to

save our lives, so I gave Coles my gun to complete the reloading, and took the rifle which he had not yet disengaged from the cover. I tore it off, and stepping out from behind our parapet, advanced to the rock which covered my light-coloured opponent. I had not made two steps in advance when three spears struck me nearly at the same moment, one of which was thrown by him. I felt severely wounded in the hip, but knew not exactly where the others had struck me. The force of all knocked me down, and made me very giddy and faint, but as I fell I heard the savage yells of the natives' delight and triumph. These recalled me to myself, and roused my momentary rage and indignation. I made a strong effort, rallied, and in a moment was on my legs; the spear was wrenched from my wound, and my haversack drawn closely over it, that neither my own party nor the natives might see it, and I advanced again steadily to the rock. The man became alarmed, and threatened me with his club, yelling most furiously; but as I neared the rock, behind which all but his head and arm was covered, he fled towards an adjoining one, dodging dexterously, according to the native manner of confusing an assailant and avoiding the cast of his spear; but he was scarcely uncovered in his flight, when my rifle ball pierced him through the back, between the shoulders and he fell heavily on his face, with a deep groan.

"The effect was electrical. The tumult of the combat had ceased. Not another spear was thrown, not another yell was uttered. Native after native dropped away, and noiselessly disappeared. I stood alone with the wretched savage dying before me, and my two men close to me behind the rocks, in the attitude of deep attention; and as I looked round upon the dark rocks and forests now suddenly silent and

lifeless, but for the sight of the unhappy being who lay on the ground before me, I could have thought that the whole affair had been a horrid dream.

"For a second or two I gazed on the scene, and then returned to my former position. I took my gun from Coles, which he had not yet finished loading, and gave him the rifle. I then went up to the other man, and gave him two balls to hold, but when I placed them in his hands they rolled upon the earth. He could not hold them, for he was completely paralysed with terror, and they fell through his fingers; the perspiration streamed from every pore; he was ghastly pale, and trembled from head to foot; his limbs refused their functions; his eyes were so fixed in the direction in which the natives had disappeared, that I could draw his attention to nothing else, and he still continued repeating, 'Good God, sir! look at them—look at them!'

"The natives had all now concealed themselves, but they were not far off. Presently the wounded man made an effort to raise himself slowly from the ground. Some of them instantly came from behind the rocks and trees, without their spears, crowding round him with the greatest tenderness and solicitude. Two passed their arms round him, his head drooped senselessly upon his chest, and, with hurried steps, the whole party wound their way through the forest, their black forms being scarcely distinguishable from the charred trunks of the trees, as they receded in the distance.

"To have fired upon the other natives, when they returned for the wounded man, would, in my belief, have been an unnecessary piece of barbarity. I already felt deeply the death of him I had been compelled to shoot; and I believe that when a fellow-creature falls by one's hand, even in a single combat,

rendered unavoidable in self-defence, it is impossible not sincerely to regret the force of so cruel a necessity."

In these days, when the world rings with the fame of explorers whose progress through savage lands has been marked by havoc and desolation, we hear little about their poignancy of regret at shedding a fellow-creature's blood. All Christendom bows down and worships adventurers, whose hands are red, not with the blood of one naked savage, but of hundreds—and these slain not under the "cruel necessity" of self-defence, but with mere brutal disregard for human life. Grey wished to win the confidence and the goodwill of the native tribes, to teach them to welcome Europeans as friends, and to bring benefits and prosperity to all the uncivilized races with whom he came in contact. He strove to inspire affection, gratitude, and trust towards the invading white man. Modern pioneers of civilization too frequently succeed in arousing in barbaric hearts the sentiments of fear and hatred. So anxious was Captain Grey to show the natives that he felt no ill-will towards them, that, weak and wounded as he was, he saw that the spears and other native weapons, which were lying about in abundance, were left untouched. The only one he took was that which had wounded him in the thigh.

With the assistance of his comrades, Grey managed to get back within two miles of the main party, whom he had left in order to find a path suitable for the horses to follow.

In crossing a stream, the leader strained his wounded hip severely, and, on reaching the opposite shore, fell heavily, and was unable to rise again. Coles went on alone to the encampment. Within an hour Mr. Walker had reached Grey's side, and very shortly after the rest of the party arrived, bringing tents and

stores. The mind of the young explorer, during that hour of loneliness and pain, was filled with memories of home and the realization of the vivid contrast presented by his present circumstances. "I sat upon the rocky edge of a cool, clear brook," he says, "supported by a small tree. The sun shone out brightly; the dark forest was alive with birds and insects. On such scenery I had loved to meditate when a boy, but now how changed I was—wounded, fatigued, and wandering in an unknown land. In momentary expectation of being attacked, my finger was on the trigger, my gun ready to be raised, my eyes and ears busily engaged in detecting the slightest sounds, that I might defend a life which I, at that moment, believed was ebbing with my blood away. The loveliness of nature was around me, the sun rejoicing in his cloudless career; the birds were filling the woods with their songs; and my friends far away and unapprehensive of my condition, whilst I felt that I was dying there."

For more than a fortnight he was unable to proceed any farther. During the first night, while he was lying awake, and suffering from his wounds, more than the pain and weariness he felt the mournful cries and wailing with which the unseen natives filled the air, lamenting their chief, the strong and the brave.

When he was a little better they proceeded on their course, Grey being carried by one of the ponies. This mode of travel was very exhausting, and his anxiety to be on his feet once more, and able to seek for the best track, no doubt, retarded his discovery. Following a westerly direction, they soon sighted a noble river, which Grey called the Glenelg, after his friend the Secretary of State. This was on the 3rd of March. From that time till the end of the month their way led

through marshy and swampy ground, and they often had to retrace their steps in order to avoid the numerous streams which poured into the river.

On March 26th they discovered some remarkable paintings in a cave, and during the next few days found several similar works of savage art. On the 31st Grey decided to turn back, as the men's strength was rapidly diminishing, the stock of provisions getting very low, and his own state of health becoming critical. A small party, led by Lieutenant Lushington, was, however, sent forward on foot to see if it were practicable to proceed. They returned on April 3rd with the report that the country was perfectly impassable for horses. The original camp in Hanover Bay was reached again on April 15th. They found H.M.S. Beagle on the coast, and the narrative of their adventures was eagerly listened to. Turning the different animals still alive loose, to wander into the bush, the explorers sailed away in their little schooner to Perth.

After the lapse of more than fifty years it is not easy to realize exactly what we owe to the first explorers of new territory. The earliest information of the existence of mountains such as the Stephen Range and Mount Lyell, of rivers such as the Glenelg, of fertile districts and stony deserts in North-Western Australia, was given to the world by Captain Grey. The facts he observed and published in connection with the nature of the soil; the characteristics of the rivers; the peculiarities of the climate; the various forms of animal and vegetable life; the language, customs, and achievements of the natives—all these were of vivid interest at the time, and of enduring value as reliable contributions to the sum of human knowledge.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND EXPLORATION.

“ Ah God ! what fierce extremes encompass life !
Note yon plump Sybarite, whose noons are feasts,
Whose midnights dainty banquets ! Hedged with gold
He sucks abundance from earth's shores and seas ;
He drains the wine of life from jewelled cups,
And fattens well for grave-worms !

Different fares

Yon child of pain that treads dry furnaced tracts,
Above stretch skies of fire ; around him plains,
Bare, moistureless ; beneath him, earth—his grave !
For him no rich looms play with curious skill ;
No menial's crook and cringe ; no tempting cates,
Nor rare wines glisten ; at Fate's Sibyl-hands
He plucks desire, mistrust, hope, fear, and death.
Ah God ! what fierce extremes encompass life !

Through night's long hours Paul trod that hopeless land,
Nor neared the peaks till dawn. Grim hills were they
Whose huge piled blocks seemed poised by giant hands
In high perpetual menace of mankind !
Athwart their base rough gorges stretched, and past
Precipitous steeps, one large, dry, gum creek, paved
With smooth round boulders and worn gravel stones ;
Its banks were loose and blistered. Neon's strong heats
Had sucked the streams that once hummed hereabout
True desert music.”

P. J. Holdsworth.

NOR having discovered any such large stream as he believed must exist, Grey was very anxious to start on a fresh expedition. He spent a few months at Mauritius, recovering from his wounds, and studying the resources of the country. During this time he

also learned sufficient of the different dialects to be able to converse with the natives, and to form a vocabulary, which was afterwards transmitted to England. He returned to Swan River on the 18th September, 1838, but owing to many unforeseen difficulties, was compelled to give up the idea of an expedition at that time. After one or two short explorations in the neighbourhood of Perth, Grey decided on a new plan, namely, to follow the coast, both north and south of Shark Bay, in whaleboats, landing at different points and making short trips into the interior.

The little party consisted of twelve men, five of whom had been through the trying experiences of the former expedition. With three whaleboats and provisions for five months, they were conveyed to Shark Bay in a whaler, and landed on Bernier Island on the 25th of February, 1839, where it had been decided to form a depôt for the stores. Two days later one of the boats was wrecked while being launched in order to search for fresh water, as none could be found on the island. Next day, having buried the bulk of the provisions, the whole party went to Dorre Island, where they found a small quantity of water.

In the night a furious gale rose suddenly, and Mr. Walker, Mr. Smith, and Grey had to swim out through the surf to reach the two boats, which were found nearly full of water. One of them soon broke from her moorings, but was hauled safely up the beach. Grey, writing of this night, calls it "one of the most fearful I have ever passed." The storm raged all the night, and a temporary lull at daybreak was followed by an instantaneous change of direction, whence the tempest blew for some hours with the greatest violence, tossing the second boat on shore. By pulling her far up she also was secured without

being much damaged. There were no trees on the island, but the bushes were all dragged from the ground, and stalwart men could not keep their feet.

At two p.m., during the short calm, the leader of the party sent men in all directions to collect water from holes in the rocks. Even thus early in the expedition the explorers were placed in desperate circumstances. The perils which menaced them are summed up in an entry in Lieutenant Grey's journal :—

“The men who had gone out for water soon returned and reported that they had been able to find very little which was not brackish from the spray having dashed over the island. I, therefore, again reduced the allowance to one pint a day, and proceeded to inspect damages. Yesterday we had started in good boats, with strong men, plenty of provisions, everything in the best order. To-day I found myself in a very different position, all the stores we had with us, with the exception of the salt provisions, were spoilt; our ammunition damaged; the chronometers down; and both boats so stove and strained as to be quite beyond our powers of repairing them effectually. Moreover, from want of water, we were compelled to make for the main before we could return to Bernier Island, to recruit from our ample stores there.”

Two days having been spent in repairing the boats, the party once more set out for the mainland, and on March 4th, reached it. After a few hours' toilsome walking they found a welcome pool. Coasting along the shore they discovered a river, which they called the Gascoyne. The bed of the river was so choked with shallows and sandbanks that navigation soon became impossible. The explorers, therefore, set out on foot to discover the nature of the country on its banks. To his delight, Grey found it a most fertile district. The rich alluvial soil was, in his opinion,

“well adapted for either agricultural or pastoral purposes, but especially for the growth of cotton and sugar.” His chief object in braving the perils and privations of these expeditions was to throw open large tracts of unknown territory for human habitation. His feelings at this important discovery are recorded in these words:—

“I felt conscious that within a few years of the moment at which I stood there, a British population, rich in civilization and the means of transforming an unoccupied country to one teeming with inhabitants and produce, would have followed my steps, and be eagerly and anxiously examining my charts; and this reflection imparted a high degree of interest and importance to our present position and operations.”

A little further to the north, where they had landed to avoid heavy weather, they were attacked by about thirty natives. These were frightened away by firing guns over their heads, but they stole two bags containing the journal and several useful articles which the explorers could ill spare. They were detained at this spot for some time as the surf was too high for them to get out. Every day they became more anxious to leave the place, as their flour had been spoilt by the salt water, and the men were not only becoming weak, from insufficient and bad food, but were getting demoralised by inactivity.

The picture drawn by the young officer of their situation at this time, presents the first suggestion of despondency: “Day after day did we sit and wait for this favourable moment, until the noise of the hoarse breaking surf had become a familiar sound to our ears; but the longer the men watched, the more dispirited did they become; each returning day found them more weak and wan, more gloomy and petulant, than the preceding one; and when the eighth day of

constant and fruitless expectation slowly closed upon us, I felt a gloomy foreboding creeping over me."

Grey spent that night in walking up and down the beach, "anxiously looking out seaward." About day-break the longed-for opportunity presented itself, and the two boats were safely launched.

When they reached Bernier Island again, on the 20th of March, they discovered that a terrible calamity had befallen them. Seeing that the land-marks had been altered, and that evidences of the fury of the hurricane were everywhere visible, Grey took with him only two of the party whom he thought he could trust implicitly, and of whose good sense, fidelity, and courage he was sure. He went to visit the depôt of provisions. His worst fears were realised, for the sea had reached and destroyed it, and all the stores were gone. A cask of salt provisions and half a cask of flour were found on the top of a rock, more than twenty feet above the reach of ordinary high tide, and this was all that remained of their ample stores.

It is impossible for anyone who has not been in a similar position to comprehend, or even in a slight degree to enter into, the feelings which oppressed the leader of the little band when his suspicions were so terribly confirmed. Of them all he was the most alive to the gravity of the situation—he could foresee dangers and sufferings of which the rest would never think. Accustomed to command; and a profound student of human nature, his heart sank as he contemplated the difficulties of preserving discipline and courage amongst the men. Whatever evils he foresaw he could not allow himself to dwell on them. The whole party looked to him for wisdom to guide, for courage to sustain, and for cheerfulness to inspire. While considering every contingency which might arise, and preparing to meet it, he could never look

downcast or appear to expect misfortune. The lives of all depended, under the providence of God, on his coolness, discretion, personal influence, and example. It is not wonderful to read that in such crises of anxiety his greatest comfort was derived from the perusal of a New Testament, which he always carried with him, and ever found a source of strength and encouragement.

The plan he decided upon was to proceed down the coast towards Perth, in the whaleboats, as far as possible, and if anything happened to the boats, to continue on foot in the same direction. The remaining provisions were spoilt by salt water, and really unfit for food, but they were carefully weighed, and equal amounts allotted to each of the party. No time was lost. By noon, on the 22nd all preparations had been made, and the explorers set forth on their desperate homeward journey.

In pulling down the coast they were frequently in danger. On the 31st of March they were compelled to make the shore to procure water. Choosing what appeared a most favourable spot, they pulled through the surf. Grey thus describes the catastrophe which followed: "For one second the boat hung upon the top of a wave, in the next I felt the sensation of falling rapidly, then a tremendous shock and crash which jerked me away amongst rocks and breakers, and for the few following seconds I heard nothing but the din of waves, whilst I was rolling about amongst men and a torn boat, oars, and water kegs in such a manner that I could not collect my senses." The men regained their feet and beached the boat without any loss of life. The second boat, misunderstanding the signals which Grey made to them not to venture at the same spot, had some of her timbers shattered from stem to stern. Neither boat was fit to

put to sea again, and the party found that they had to walk the rest of the way to Perth, a distance of about 300 miles as the crow flies.

The men were in high spirits. Indeed, their leader had to impress upon them the difficulties of the march which lay before them, in the hope of inducing them to abandon some portion of the loads which they intended to carry. Each member of the party bore his own share of the provisions, one pound of salt meat and twenty pounds of flour—which, with its sour, fermented taste and brown colour, would have been uneatable in less desperate circumstances. Besides these burdens, the men encumbered themselves with “canvas, and what else they thought would sell at Perth, and some of them appeared to be resolved rather to risk their lives than the booty they were bending under.” Lieutenant Grey, in addition to his rations, carried his own papers, several charts, a large map which he filled in as they journeyed, and a number of instruments. Kaiber, a native who accompanied the party, relieved him of his gun. Chronometers, sextants, and sketching materials were borne by other individuals.

The new mode of travel commenced on April 2nd. The entry in Grey's journal runs thus :—“Our loads having been hoisted on our shoulders, away we moved. I had before chosen my line of route, and the plan I resolved to adopt was to walk on slowly but continuously for an hour, and then to halt for ten minutes, during which interval of time the men could rest and relieve themselves from the weight of their burdens, whilst I could enter what notes and bearings I had taken during the preceding hour.”

For a few days the little party pressed onwards intolerably good spirits, despite toilsome journeys, rough ways, nauseous and scanty food, heavy burdens,

and constant exposure to the weather. They passed through a fertile and beautiful region, but the presence of hostile natives added to their troubles. Grey's humanity in firing over their heads soon taught the blacks contempt for his weapon. "Then," he writes, "I was compelled to act promptly, or blood would undoubtedly have been shed. I therefore took my rifle from Coles, and directing it at a heap of closely matted dead bushes which were distant two or three yards to the right of their main body, I drove a ball right through it. The dry, rotten boughs crackled and flew in all directions, whilst our enemy, utterly confounded at this distant, novel, and unfair mode of warfare, fled from the field in confusion, the majority of our party rejoicing at the bloodless victory."

Before long, the men began to sink beneath their self-imposed burdens, and to rebel against the continuous progress insisted on by their leader. The idea took possession of their minds that they were wasting their strength by long marches, and that it would be far wiser to rest frequently and recruit, "utterly forgetting that most of the party had now only seven or eight pounds of fermented flour left, and that if they did not make play whilst they had strength, their eventually reaching Perth was quite hopeless."

When the majority "not only adopted these views in theory, but doggedly carried them into practice," Grey was forced to separate from the advocates of short journeys and frequent rests. Dividing the party into two, he went forward as quickly as he could, leaving the others, under the guidance of Mr. Walker to follow at their leisure.

This separation occurred on April 10th. Three days later Grey shared the last morsel of his damper with Kaiter, the native who accompanied the expedition. He had still three spoonfuls of arrowroot in

his wallet, but no water to cook it with, and suffered intensely from hunger and thirst. His misery and longing for food were aggravated by seeing the men preparing their evening meal. He was much touched by the action of one of his companions, who offered him a morsel of damper about the size of a walnut. Next day they found a native store of nuts in several holes, one of which only they emptied, the leader holding that they were only justified in taking as much as was absolutely necessary to support life. Grey shot a hawk during the day, and was able liberally to repay the lad who had so generously given him a portion of his scanty store the previous evening.

The sufferings of the little party became almost intolerable. Water could not be found, for although the country was intersected by large river beds, yet they were all dry, and only occasionally were a few muddy pools discovered, where, in the rainy season, immense bodies of water rushed to the ocean. On the 17th they had been three days without either food or water. They could not sleep that night, but roamed wearily about seeking vainly for what they so much needed. Still pushing on, they came to a small mudhole, beside which the men sank on the ground with cries of weariness and rapture, and their leader had great difficulty in inducing them to move on again.

"They were now passing through a fertile and promising country, and game was plentiful, but weakness and exhaustion had so told upon them all, that even Grey found his hand shaking so much that he could not for an instant cover a bird with his gun. Watching where a flock of cockatoos went to roost, he followed them, and firing into their midst, killed one. Next morning they found some mussels on the bank of a stream. Much as he needed food, Kaiber could not be induced to taste one of these, declaring they

were under the protection of a powerful spirit. His master, however, insisted on his procuring some for the rest of the party. A torrent of bitterly cold rain falling that night, gave Kaiber the intense satisfaction, even to an uncivilised mind, of saying, "I told you so." Grey's wrath was kindled by the monotonous chant in which the native indulged through the long hours of the wretched night.

"Why should he eat the mussels?" was the burden of his lay, and although he introduced slight variations they in nowise disturbed its monotony. Irritated beyond endurance, the young officer peremptorily forbade any further mention of the mussels. Kaiber knew and respected a tone which did not encourage trifling, and lamented in a much lower key, although, even then, Grey heard a subdued murmuring at intervals.

After a few more days of starvation and fatigue, toiling wearily onward with blistered and bleeding feet, and enfeebled frames, none of the party seemed to feel any desire to carry on the unequal struggle against death, but showed an inclination to lie down and succumb at once. Only the consideration that they might yet save the lives of the other half of the expedition, by sending assistance to them from Perth, urged them to continue. On the 20th they fell in with a party of natives, some of whom were known to Kaiber, and these men supplied them with food. Next day they reached Perth, and Grey immediately went to see the Governor. The latter did not at first recognize the visitor, but when he heard his story showed great kindness to the six who had successfully performed such a long and trying journey, and sent immediate assistance to those who had been left behind.

The hardships of that terrible three months had so

greatly changed the young explorer, that friends hearing of his return, and hastening to congratulate him, passed him unrecognized in the street. Not one of the men who had pushed forward upon his advice and under his guidance was lost.

The rescuing party, setting out from Perth, found four of the other detachment still alive. The youngest, Frederick Smyth, a lad of eighteen, had perished by the way, and three others when discovered had sunk on the ground in the last stages of exhaustion, unable, as they asserted, to proceed a step further. They had been without food or water for several days. Mr. Walker had left the others and reached Perth by himself in order to send help back to them.

These two years of adventure, of hardship, and of peril, were sufficient to develop those qualities which enabled George Grey to fill with wonderful ability the varied and dangerous positions of his after life. Always surrounded by great difficulties—every sense of comfort sacrificed—facing death in many ways, with a despairing following, and under singularly adverse circumstances, his courage never failed, nor did he ever yield to despondency.

When hope had abandoned every other heart, and his followers lay down to die, he kept resolutely on. The same invincible determination which characterized his after life, was brought into prominence thus early. Bearing patiently with weaker men and without bravado, he kept upon his course with a will of iron. Under the stress of danger and perplexity was developed that lofty faith, which sustained him through all the trying ordeals of his later career. So far as regards this world, his creed was the simplest possible. He believed that the Maker of all had placed every man in a position where the performance of duty was incumbent, and expected that duty to be

well done. Following this as a necessary consequence, came the consciousness of a duty to man, only less sacred than the other. The trying circumstances of these expeditions—the necessity ever present for self-control, patience, endurance and self-sacrifice—foreshadowed the greater events and more important deeds of later years.

In this school George Grey learnt to rule himself, his followers, the savage tribes with whom he came into contact, and even the forces of nature. In no scene of his subsequent history—remarkable as that history has been—did he fail to draw encouragement and confidence from his explorations in Western Australia.

Never afterwards was he likely to be called upon to face danger so imminent or circumstances so apparently hopeless. A heart which had borne up against the privations and disasters of those terrible explorations would scarcely be disturbed or beat more quickly under any possible conditions of peril. The foresight which had enabled him in some measure to anticipate every contingency which could arise would not be likely to fail in any future difficulty; and the patience which could bear with the harassing and despairing petulance of men who wished to be allowed to lie down and die could scarcely give way under any future pressure.

That faith in the mercy and power of an unseen God which enabled him, when suddenly confronted with the loss of all the provisions of the party on Bernier Island, to commit himself and his party confidently to the guardianship and care of the Almighty, and which sustained him when in the midst of the waterless desert he had shared his last remaining piece of damper with the native, would not be afterwards greatly staggered by any difficulties, however

insurmountable they might appear to be. The remarkable passage in which he describes his feelings in the second of these appalling situations deserves quotation.

"We halted at noon for about two hours, during which I made my breakfast with Kaiber, sharing my remaining portion of damper between us. It was almost a satisfaction to me when it was gone, for, tormented by the pangs of hunger, as I had now been for many days, I found that nearly the whole of my time was passed in struggling with myself as to whether I should eat at once all the provisions I had left or refrain till a future hour. Having completed this last morsel, I occupied myself for a little with my journals, then read a few chapters in the New Testament, and having fulfilled these duties, I felt myself as contented and cheerful as I had ever been in the most fortunate moments of my life."

The history of these explorations was not published till 1841, when Captain Grey was performing his duties as Governor in South Australia. He wrote to Lord Glenelg, requesting permission to dedicate the record of his travels to him, receiving the following little note in reply:—

"Dear Sir,—I am not a little gratified and flattered by your kind wish, and can only say that I shall feel it an honour to be associated with the history of your expeditions—an honour which I appreciate the more on account of the motives which have induced you to offer it.

It will be always to me a source of sincere satisfaction that I was in any degree enabled to assist your early efforts in the public service, and witness your entrance on a career which is, I trust, destined to be long and honourable. The new year opens auspiciously for you. I offer to you the best wishes of the season. May a kind Providence be your guide and guard.—I am, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

GLENELG.

The book met with great success, and strengthened the reputation which its writer had already obtained. In itself it is a simple narrative of the facts and circumstances of Grey's two expeditions, to which are added dissertations upon several scientific subjects. The style is clear, the narrative continuous. There are indications in many places of the leading features of the author's character and purposes. The predominant idea as to the future of these unoccupied territories repeatedly manifests itself.

Upon the banks of rivers, or the shores of the sea, he beheld, in anticipation, great towns arising, filled with commerce and with plenty. Upon the boundless pastures he heard the bleating of the flocks, and the lowing of the cattle. The wealth of nature, which spread itself out before his delighted vision to satisfy the wants of multitudes, and to give homes to the poor and needy, became the possession of the struggling masses, who, in the mother country, were on the brink of starvation. Hope pictured to him, in the future, not far distant, the realization of his brightest dreams.

The love of children, ever a striking feature in his character, was displayed on many occasions. Once, the natives, believing him to be a friend come back from the dead, compelled the little children of the tribe to sit upon his knees, and submit to the touch of his hand. At first this process was accompanied by cries of terror, but so potent and gentle were his caresses, that at last the children strove together to get nearest to him, and to obtain the most of his attention.

Humanity, fortitude, foresight, and determination, were all displayed by him in the arduous circumstances which surrounded both expeditions. Grey made no secret of his intense belief in the overruling

providence of God, and of the certainty of His interposition on behalf of those who put their trust in His mercy. On returning to Bernier Island, he found that the awful succession of hurricanes, lashing the sea into unbounded fury, had swept away all their provisions, and brought them face to face with death. His own words will best describe the position, and his feelings.

“The safety of the whole party now depended upon my forming a prompt and efficient plan of operations, and seeing it carried out with energy and perseverance. As soon as I was out of sight of Mr. Smith and Coles, I sat down upon a rock on the shore, to reflect upon our present position. The view seawards was discouraging; the gale blew fiercely in my face, and the spray of the breakers was dashed over me; nothing could be more dismal and drear. I turned inland, and could see only a bed of rock, covered with drifting sand, on which grew a stunted vegetation, and former experience had taught me that we could not hope to find water in this island. Our position here was, therefore, untenable, and but three plans presented themselves to me:—First, to leave a notice of my intentions on the island, then to make for some known point on the mainland, and there endeavour to subsist ourselves, until we should be found and taken off by the colonial schooner; secondly, to start for Timor or Port Essington; thirdly, to try and make Swan River in the boats. I determined not to decide hastily between these plans, and, in order more fully to compose my mind, I sat down and read a few chapters in the Bible.

“By the influence these imparted I became perfectly contented and resigned to our apparently wretched condition, and, again rising up, pursued my way along the beach to the party. It may here be

remarked by some that these statements of my attending to religious duties are irrelevant to the subject, but in such an opinion I cannot at all coincide. In detailing the sufferings we underwent it is necessary to relate the means by which those sufferings were alleviated; and, after having, in the midst of perils and misfortunes, received the greatest consolation from religion, I should be ungrateful to my Maker not to acknowledge this, and should ill perform my duty to my fellow-men did I not bear testimony to the fact that under all the weightier sorrows and sufferings that our frail nature is liable to, a perfect reliance upon the goodness of God and the merits of our Redeemer, will be found a sure refuge and a certain source of consolation.”*

After having been attacked by the natives, and hedged in by the surf on the mainland, they sat day and night upon the lonely beach watching the waves until some favourable moment might enable them to embark. When the whole party was plunged in gloom and despondency, Grey thus writes :—

“It may be asked if, during such a trying period, I did not seek from religion that consolation which it is sure to afford? My answer is, Yes; and I further feel assured that but for the support I derived from prayer and frequent perusal and meditation of the Scriptures, I should never have been able to have borne myself in such a manner as to have maintained discipline and confidence amongst the rest of the party; nor in all my sufferings did I ever lose the consolation derived from a firm reliance upon the goodness of Providence.

“It is only those who go forth into perils and dangers, amidst which human foresight and strength

* “Two Expeditions in North-West and Western Australia,” pp. 393, 394. 1841. G. Grey.

can but little avail, and who find themselves, day after day, protected by an unseen influence, and ever and again snatched from the very jaws of destruction by a power which is not of this world, who can at all estimate the knowledge of one's own weakness and littleness, and the firm reliance and trust upon the goodness of the Creator which the human breast is capable of feeling. Like all other lessons which are of great and lasting benefit to man, this one must be learnt amid much sorrowing and woe; but having learnt it, it is but the sweeter from the pain and toil which are undergone in the acquisition."

And when the advance party had triumphed over every difficulty and arrived near the town of Perth, and meeting friendly natives received a plentiful supply of frogs and nuts, eating as they had not eaten for weeks before, knowing that the next day they should be able to reach Perth—Grey writes: "We all lay down to sleep, and in the silence of the night I rendered fervent thanks to my Maker who had again brought us so near the haven where we would be."

The enterprising explorer did not deceive himself as to the value and suitability for settlement of the lands he traversed, although the first attempts to discover the fertile territory which he described were unsuccessful.

A letter, written nearly half a century later, by Commodore Coghlan, who speaks of himself as "one who has read your journals many times, and is personally acquainted with much of the ground described (having seen in Vansittart Bay similar buffalo tracks, or spors, to those seen by you in Prince Regent Inlet, and having also seen the spot where brave Frederick Smyth lies buried)," says:—"Since that day there have been many Australian expeditions, but, to my mind, none in which so many personal hardships were

endured, as during that memorable journey you made by sea to Ganthcaume Bay, and thence, on foot, to Perth. To-day, Gascoyne is comparatively a flourishing place. It is the outlet for sheep stations, some of which are as far back as four hundred miles from the coast. Steamers call frequently, carrying men and stores, *en route* to the newly discovered Kimberley goldfields."

CHAPTER VII.

GREY APPOINTED RESIDENT AT KING GEORGE'S SOUND—HIS METHOD OF DEALING WITH NATIVE RACES.

"The proper study of mankind is man."
Pope.

"Ill can he rule the great, that cannot reach the small."
Spenser, "Faerie Queen."

WHILE recruiting, after the close of the second expedition, George Grey received his commission as Captain of the 83rd Regiment. Soon afterwards, he was requested by the Governor of Western Australia to assume the position of Resident at King George's Sound. This he readily assented to, as it provided him with employment, and afforded further opportunities of becoming acquainted with colonial life, and with the character and adaptability of the native races. His appointment was dated August 31, 1839.

While occupying this position, he determined to ascertain by practical experiment, the possibility of engaging the settled attention of a nomadic savage race in the employments of civilized life. Carrying out the ideas which he had already formed during his travels, he commenced the task of employing the Australian natives in the simplest work which the public service could offer. A number of the aborigines were set to work at roadmaking. In dealing with the

child-like minds of these people, utterly unused to the idea of waiting for reward, he found it necessary to present the incentive of prompt and immediate payment. Twice every day were his native workmen paid. When half the day's toil had been accomplished, they received sixpence each, and, when the dinner hour was past, they knew that, if they recommenced their labour, at the end of the day they would receive the further sum of a shilling.

The work being simple, the task being lightened by the good temper and good management of overseers, chosen by the Resident with due regard to their necessary qualifications, and the reward given being adequate to supply the wants of savages, little difficulty was experienced in utilizing the labour of one of the least intelligent amongst uncivilized races.

The plan which Captain Grey definitely adopted, while Resident, as the best method of dealing with savage tribes, he never forsook, and never found to fail. To give employment suited to the natural or acquired capacity of the persons employed; to bestow a sufficient reward for the work accomplished, in a speedy and certain manner, and to hold out the prospect of some further reward in the future, as the consequence of continued industry and good conduct, seemed theoretically, as it proved in practice, to be a reasonable and successful method of dealing with barbarous peoples.

Believing that a great portion of his life would be spent in the management of the aboriginal inhabitants of the colonies, Grey devoted his time, attention, and study, to the habits of life, and the methods of thought of these races. His experiment was entirely successful. The natives worked steadily, and worked well. The two payments daily provided for all their requirements, and were always certain. They were not

overtaxed; they were treated kindly, and with a certain amount of respect. Thus, during the first short apprenticeship which he served, before assuming the actual duties of a Governor, Grey ascertained, from personal experience, a certain and efficacious method of peaceful settlement, and peaceful employment of native races.

The few months during which Captain Grey filled the position of Resident at Albany swiftly passed. Receiving notification that Her Majesty's Government did not think it expedient to prosecute further the exploration of North-Western Australia, he returned to England.

The series of experiments which he had conducted, in dealing with the natives, and the knowledge which he had obtained of their character, found expression in a memorandum, which he transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as a report, on the 4th of June, 1840, upon the best means of promoting the civilization of the Australian natives. This report attracted considerable attention, and copies of it were sent to the various Governors of the Australian Colonies, for their consideration and guidance.

Grey arrived in England in September, 1840. At this time he was preparing his book, "Explorations in Western and North-Western Australia," which was published in 1841, after his return to Australia. The end of his employment by the Government in the work of exploration left him without a tangible connection with any of the colonies, or with the Government. He had not long, however, to remain in doubt as to his future career.

The despatches which he had forwarded to the Colonial Office; the able memorandum, before mentioned, on the civilization of the Australian natives; the remarkable courage and capacity which he had

shown through the fearful ordeal of the two expeditions, had all been noted at headquarters; and, although he was himself unaware, from official intimation, of the feelings held towards him by the Colonial Office, it was an understood fact in that department that in Captain Grey they possessed an officer, whose presence of mind, firmness of character, and genius for command, would authorize Her Majesty's Government in placing him in any position which the colonial exigencies might require.

Within a month of his landing, on October 20th, when he had scarcely ceased telling his mother and many friends of the strange adventures and the wonderful scenes through which he had passed, he received a most flattering letter from Lord John Russell, then principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. The letter opened with these words:—“The high opinion which is entertained of your ability and energy by those who have had to transact business with you, regarding the affairs of Australia, induces me to propose to recommend you to the Queen for the Government of South Australia, in the place of Colonel Gawler.”

This intimation, not merely of the esteem in which he was held by those high in office, but of the probability of the fulfilment of his loftiest hopes, filled the heart of George Grey with delight and gratitude. To that of his mother it must have brought a feeling of sorrow and anxiety mingled with the pride which she felt in her son's success.

South Australia had been, from the day of its foundation, gradually, but surely, drifting into perilous circumstances. Colonel Gawler, though an excellent officer and a man of great courage, did not possess those qualifications which were necessary to guide the destinies of a young settlement. The affairs of the

colony were in a desperate condition, and ministers had resolved to recall Colonel Gawler, and to appoint some man of position and of character, who would be able, far removed from the assistance and the authority of Downing Street, to retrieve and to carry on successfully the affairs of the infant colony.

Sir Charles Napier had been requested by Lord John Russell to undertake the task. Sir Charles was eminently a soldier. His main idea, correct in itself, was that Government must rest on force. He was informed of the mutinous and insubordinate state into which the colonists had passed, and after accepting the position of Governor of South Australia, he requested that he should be permitted to take troops with him to Adelaide.

To this Her Majesty's Government demurred. That feeling of anxiety, which, ever since the American Revolution, has so powerfully influenced the colonial policy of Great Britain, at once compelled ministers to refuse this demand to land an armed force in a free colony. Thereupon Sir Charles Napier resigned the Governorship.

With these circumstances Captain Grey was made acquainted. Conscious as he was of the dignity of the position offered, and the high appreciation thus shown of the work he had already accomplished, he naturally regarded with some doubt the responsibilities of the proposed task. He repaired to London, there sought and received advice from a statesman well acquainted with colonial questions, and with the colonial policy of successive Governments. This revered friend expressed his opinion that Sir Charles Napier was wrong in refusing the Government because he could not take with him the troops he required. "Do not," said he, speaking to Captain Grey, "do not refuse this great opening for usefulness

in the public service because you cannot take troops with you, to preserve order, and to enforce the laws. When you have assumed the command, if you find it to be necessary to employ force, you will be the master of the situation, and forces must be placed at your disposal. Sir George Gipps, an able man, is the Governor of New South Wales. He will listen at once to your request, and you can avail yourself of his assistance, and of some of the troops which he has under his command."

His only doubt thus removed, Grey answered the letter from Lord John Russell. While expressing his sense of the high honour sought to be conferred upon him, he alluded with diffidence to his own age and comparative inexperience, but trusted that the advice and counsel of Her Majesty's Government would enable him to cope successfully with whatever difficulties he might meet, and that ministers would be lenient in their judgment of his actions.

His acceptance of the offer gave satisfaction to the Cabinet. Her Majesty was advised to appoint Captain Grey as Governor of South Australia, to succeed Colonel Gawler; and, at the close of the year, on December 29th, Grey received a letter from Lord John Russell, enclosing his commission as Governor of that colony.

After the receipt of his commission, it took but little time for the new Governor of South Australia to arrange all business matters in England, and to start upon his second voyage to Australia, not now as a young officer and adventurer, about to explore unknown countries, but to assume the important position of a Colonial Governor—a position, the responsibility of which was greatly added to by the unfortunate series of mistakes and blunders which had characterised the administration of the colony since

Book the Second.

GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 1841-1845.

CHAPTER VIII.

UNHAPPY POSITION OF THE COLONY—CHANGE EFFECTED BY CAPTAIN GREY.

“I have done the State some service, and they know’t.”
Othello.

“Rich in saying common-sense,
And, as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity, sublime.”
Tennyson.

IN May, 1841, Captain Grey arrived at Adelaide. On this, his second journey to the Antipodes, his mind often reverted to that voyage in the *Beagle*, four years earlier, when, under the auspices of the Geographical Society and the Government, he, having chosen his career, had entered upon it. His rapid promotion, the varied circumstances through which he had passed, the knowledge of men and things which he had obtained, the approval of his superiors, the trust and affection of his fellow sailors, had all tended to strengthen his determination as to the course of his future life. He was resolved to enter upon the duties of his Government, and his new official position, with the fixed purpose of increasing the happiness of all who came within the sphere of

his administration, and of laying the foundations for future prosperity in these new lands.

His arrival in the colony was the signal for some little manifestation of welcome. The circumstances of South Australia, however, were so confused and desperate, that they precluded the possibility of any great excitement in the public mind on any other subject. To understand the position of the colony, it will be necessary to give a short sketch of its foundation and history.

The statement made by Captain King, in 1822, that the south coast of Australia was barren and unfit for settlement, seems to have prevented any serious exploration of its capabilities until 1829, when Sturt proceeded from Sydney to explore the Murrumbidgee. This entailed a journey of nearly one thousand miles along an unknown stream, running through a country inhabited by hostile tribes. Reaching the coast successfully, Sturt and his party, threatened with starvation, had to return—a much more difficult operation than going down with the current. The voyage up the Murray took nearly three months, amid such exertions and privations, that, when the adventurers again reached Sydney, one of the party had lost his reason, and the intrepid leader was in darkness—Sturt had lost his eyesight. The report they brought back was very different to the verdict of Captain King. “My eye never fell on a region of more promising aspect, or of more favourable position,” were the words of Sturt.

Attention being drawn to this part of the colony, a plan of settlement, embodying the views of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, was formed in London, and an Act passed in the English Parliament, by which the district was proclaimed a British Province, to which no convicts were to be sent, the upset price

of the land being fixed at 12s. per acre. The province was to be self-supporting, by the sale of its lands, and a company was formed, which made large purchases, appointing commissioners to manage the affairs of the new settlement.

The first emigrants arrived in the colony on the 9th of November, 1836. Captain Hindmarsh, one of the commissioners, was appointed the first Governor. His recommendations for the position seem to have been chiefly his distinguished services as a naval officer, but he was not well qualified for a Governor of a new colony. Disputes with the official authorities under him were constant, and he was soon recalled, Colonel Gawler being appointed in his place.

Finding the revenue very low, and the resources of the country almost untouched, the new Governor should have encouraged agriculture and settlement on the soil, but, instead, he launched the colony on an extravagant public works policy, forming expensive roads, and erecting large and handsome buildings in the town of Adelaide. For a time labour was well paid, and apparent prosperity reigned, but it was artificial, and soon came to an end. In 1840, Colonel Gawler was recalled, in consequence of having drawn bills upon the Lords of the Treasury, in excess of the authority received from the commissioners.

Under his administration, while the revenue was, at the outside, not more than £30,000, the expenses of keeping up the different departments of Government alone amounted to £94,000, and at the same time the land sales fell off. Lord Stanley, commenting on Gawler's administration, stated that the building of Government House and the formation of an unnecessary road had each cost more than a year's revenue; that land in the unformed town of

Adelaide fetched prices which would hardly be given for the same amount of land in Liverpool; and that not two hundred acres of soil in the colony were under tillage. In the face of these facts, he continued, it was evident that "a profligate waste of money had taken place in a manner utterly inconsistent with the success of the colony."

Captain Grey's local knowledge of South Australia, and his administrative capacity, pointed him out as the best person to undertake the difficult task of restoring the credit of the new colony, greatly damaged by the refusal of the British Government to honour the bills drawn by the late Governor. Grey's position in the colony differed from that of his predecessors in the fact that he was directly responsible to the Imperial powers, and owed no authority to the commissioners.

Grey was thus, in his first Governorship, brought directly into contact with the Wakefield system of colonization. Here he fought his first battles against the land monopolists, and commenced the struggle which has continued throughout his life. His administration in New Zealand was continuously marked by determined opposition to the theories of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the practices of his supporters.

The two men regarded the question of emigration from opposite points of the compass. Grey looked upon the colonies as the rightful heritage of succeeding generations and the future home of millions of the British poor. Wakefield regarded them as mines of wealth, to be exploited by the powerful governing classes for their own benefit. Grey's chief aim in life was to extend the blessings of these new lands as widely as possible, and to lay the foundations of the young communities in justice, wisdom, and constitu-

tional freedom. Wakefield's object was to reproduce in the nascent states the class distinctions, the inequalities, and the social barriers which fetter popular liberty in older countries.

It is impossible to understand the varying phases of colonization and of the internal conflicts which took place in the young states of Australasia without some general knowledge of the plans of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, which have left their mark for good or ill upon the modern history of British settlement. Mr. Wakefield, in a series of letters, pronounced a system founded, like modern political economy, upon human selfishness and the domination of capital over labour.

In "The Three Colonies of Australia," by Samuel Sidney, the author observes :—"Mr. Wakefield contended that colonial land should be sold at a 'sufficient price,' at a uniform rate, so high as to prevent labourers from buying it. That it should be sold in large blocks, and the purchase money expended in bringing to the colonies healthy and capable young men and women of the labouring class, who, being debarred from becoming land-owners themselves, should continue to work for wages, and thus guarantee a perpetual abundance of cheap labour for the benefit of the capitalist." This theory of colonization did not appeal to the best sentiments of human nature.

"But Mr. Wakefield had to assist him in propagating his tenets, not only the charm of 'style,' but of personal fascination, with a more than Protean adaptiveness which rendered him a friend and bosom adviser of Republicans and Radicals, Whig and Conservative peers, Low Church and High Church bishops. Five Secretaries of State for the Colonies—Lords Glenelg and Stanley, Monteagle, Aberdeen,

and Grey—have been more or less his pupils; the influence of his writings, even quotations from them, are to be found in their despatches; while so late as 1850 he led, or rather sent captive, to Canterbury, New Zealand, a crowd of educated victims.

“Energetic, tenacious, indefatigable, unscrupulous, with a wonderful talent for literary agitation, for simultaneously feeding a hundred journalists with the same idea and the same illustrations in varying language, for filling eloquent but indolent orators with telling speeches—at one time he had rallied round him nearly every rising man of political aspirations, and secured the support of nearly every economical writer of any celebrity. He had shaken a Ministry, founded and distributed the patronage of at least two colonies, and left the seeds, after nearly exciting open rebellion, in a third.”

Under the regulations which the powerful company that founded the colony had made, any person could deposit £4,000 and take up all the best parts of a block of twenty-eight thousand acres. This Captain Grey opposed and repealed. Then a block of twenty thousand acres could be purchased for cash by any one or more persons.

A very valuable deposit of copper ore was discovered. A number of speculators, seeing an opportunity for making a fortune, applied to purchase a twenty thousand acre block, including the new copper fields. The Governor was averse to granting such a huge monopoly, but the law was imperative. When, however, the purchasers came to pay for their grant, it was found that the bank could not spare so much specie as £20,000. They therefore brought bills drawn upon London houses endorsed by the bank.

Captain Grey realised the position. He refused to take the bills. Legal advice was taken, and he was

told that they were as good as cash, and he was bound to receive and execute the grant. He deliberately refused to do so. Then the people of Adelaide, including tradesmen, artisans, clerks, workmen, and others, recognising the importance of the opportunity presented, clubbed their savings together and were able to produce ten thousand pounds in cash. The wealthier syndicate also procured ten thousand pounds in cash. They joined together, and the land was taken up.

This land comprised the Burra Burra copper mines. The ownership was thus distributed amongst a very large number of deserving people, who, with their families, enjoyed considerable benefits from these rich mines for many years. This effort to spread as widely as possible the advantages arising from the ownership of lands or mines—or indeed any of the forces of nature—was typical of Grey's life-long desire.

Another abuse which Captain Grey encountered in New Zealand, but first met in South Australia, was that of Church endowments. The price of all colonial lands, under the actual or legislative control of supporters of the Wakefield theory, was increased in order to pay a fixed sum to the Church of England. Whatever denomination the purchaser might belong to, he was forced in this way to contribute to the Established Anglican Church. This matter will be more fully discussed in the history of Captain Grey's government of New Zealand. It is sufficient here to mention that he successfully opposed the system in South Australia.

Grey found matters in the colony almost as bad as they could be. Troubles with the natives had arisen, and the first executive act of the newly-appointed Governor was to despatch an expedition to quell the outbreaks of the blacks upon the Murray.

Far more difficult to deal with were the monetary depression in the colony, the loss of credit, and the problem of restoring prosperity. Enterprise was dead, and all the sources of revenue seemed barren. The land sales had fallen off greatly. The claims left unsettled by his predecessor were clamorously pressed upon him. £3,000 due from the last quarter demanded immediate payment, and the estimated expenses of the next quarter would be £32,000, while the Treasury only contained £700. He was forced to sell the Crown lands, but it was not easy to find purchasers.

Captain Grey set about the task of retrenchment immediately. The costly Government works which had been begun were finished only as far as was necessary to prevent them falling into dilapidation; the labourers were encouraged to turn to agricultural pursuits, or else were treated as pauper emigrants. The Government expenditure in 1841 was £100,000; in 1842 it was reduced to £34,000.

The Governor borrowed money from another colony, and renewed some of the bills drawn by Colonel Gawler on the British Treasury. These drafts were at first dishonoured by the Home authorities, and there was some doubt as to whether Captain Grey could be held individually responsible for them. A private despatch from Lord Stanley, dated June 21st, 1843, states that the reason, which led to their being dishonoured in the first instance by the Lords Commissioners "did not in any degree impugn the motives which had induced you to issue them. . . . It would, indeed, be an ill return for the essential and most effective services which you have rendered in reducing the expenditure and re-establishing the finances of South Australia, if you should be left to discharge, from your own private fortune, a debt originally con-

tracted, not by yourself, but by your predecessor, for the public service of that colony."

During the days of artificial prosperity the settlers had found life very pleasant, enlivened with continuous feasting and merrymaking. The time was filled with a round of garden-parties, balls, dinners, morning rides and drives. The records of that period present the picture of an idle, happy people, revelling in the pure air and bright sunshine of what seemed to be "the land where it is always afternoon," and lightheartedly believing that they were making fortunes for themselves and others, while in reality the apparent prosperity was a mere bubble resting on wild and foolish speculation. No one attempted the production of fresh wealth, all being satisfied to import necessaries, as well as luxuries, at enormous expense from New South Wales and other places.

The reduction in wages, and the return to the real price of things from the fictitious values which had attached to them, woke the colonists from their pleasant dreams. Many became absolutely destitute, bankruptcies were alarmingly numerous, and very few indeed they were who did not suffer by the collapse. The measures taken to retrieve the past, and to open a future of sound prosperity, were by many blamed for the natural results of former improvidence. Governor Grey had not only to meet the difficulties of the situation, but also to resist "the clamorous demands made by tumultuous bodies of men, using seditious language and marching in organized array to Government House, threatening the representative of their sovereign, whom there was no military to protect. But these and other unjustifiable proceedings did not prevent the Governor contributing £400 in one year to charitable purposes out of his limited

income of £1,000."* At an early period of his government nearly two thousand men, women, and children were dependent upon him for support as absolute paupers. The young officer must have found it a difficult matter to supply the needs of such great numbers of destitute persons. And yet one historian says that of him "real poverty and distressed merit never in vain sought relief."

The measures he took were approved and endorsed by the Home Government, and in a despatch to Lord Stanley, dated the 26th of April, 1842, the Lords of the Treasury stated that the Governor had acquitted himself "in an able and satisfactory manner of the important trust which had been reposed in him."

When Governor Grey received a slight rebuke for drawing upon the Government for the bills which they had once dishonoured, he pointed out that Parliament had voted £155,000 to liquidate those bills.

By the beginning of 1843 prosperity upon a safe basis commenced for the colony. Everyone was at work upon his own land. The revenue was increasing. A splendid harvest, the abolition of the port dues (imposed by Captain Grey at the beginning of his administration to provide ready money), and the settlement of some heavy liabilities by grants of land, made the improvement more noticeable. The high price (£1 per acre) fixed by the British Government on all land in the colony prevented much being sold; but the discovery that copper was abundant gave a fresh impetus to land sales, and the crisis in the life of the colony was passed.

The introduction of legislative institutions in South Australia dates from Captain Grey's government. One of his earliest acts was to nominate the first Legislative Council. Of the members appointed at

* Martin's "British Colonies," p. 646.

the time, one, Sir John Morphett, still sits in that Assembly. The Governor also issued an order that the proceedings of this Chamber—then the only one—should be thrown open to the public and the press.

A series of letters written by Mr. George Fife Angas to Captain Grey, during the term of the latter's government, throw valuable light upon the condition of South Australia at this time, the causes of that condition, and the sincere and patriotic efforts made by some who loved the colony well.

It is impossible to give, from Sir George Grey's life, any adequate idea of the communications between himself and individuals or associations, having reference to the work of colonisation in its widest scope. But the correspondence with Mr. Angas may be regarded as typical of the magnetic influence exercised by Sir George Grey throughout his life, in attracting to himself the confidence and esteem of those who devoted time, intellect, and wealth to the amelioration of the condition of their fellow-men, and the building up of Greater Britain.

The friendship of these two men commenced when the young explorer was in England, in 1840. Anxious to learn the views of a man so interested and experienced in questions of colonisation on the Government project of founding a colony on the north coast of Australia, Grey sought and obtained an interview with Mr. Angas. The latter strenuously opposed the plan, foreseeing many difficulties and disasters. Years afterwards he raised his voice in the Legislative Council of South Australia against the proposed settlement being made, except as a purely tropical colony with aid from Calcutta and London.

Mr. G. F. Angas was one of the most sincere and untiring friends a young colony ever had. A director of the company, under whose auspices South Aus-

tralia was founded, he lost no opportunity of doing it a service, sparing neither time, money, nor personal effort in its cause. At the same time, he strongly disapproved of the extravagance which characterized the new community. No words can be more decided than those he used on this subject in writing to Captain Grey, in 1843.

“You know my views as to the absolute necessity of settlers in a new colony adopting the most rigid economy in all their establishments and expenditure. A neglect of this has been the curse of South Australia, and the ruin of its best interests, and nothing has made it greater enemies at home and abroad.”

These letters are remarkably interesting. They contain an account of the formation of the South Australian Society and its first prospectus. They form a record of what was done by this one man during the term of Captain Grey's governorship and residence at Adelaide. He was, indeed, helped and cheered by the co-operation and sympathy of the Governor, who furnished him with statistics and other information concerning the colony; but, in the details of his work, he was practically single-handed.

He wrote pamphlets, publishing and circulating them at his own expense; he obtained interviews with Cabinet Ministers and other leaders of public opinion; he delivered lectures in every town through which he passed in travelling about Great Britain; he appointed agents, who were, he wrote, “Men of influence and devoted to South Australia,” to perform the same duties; he kept up an active correspondence for over three years with the owners of six or seven hundred American ships engaged in the South Sea whale fisheries with the object of inducing them to put into South Australia for their supplies.

He was also in constant communication with European States, with commercial houses in China, Mauritius and Bombay, and with the various missionary societies; approaching the latter with a plan for establishing colleges in Adelaide, at which young men might receive a suitable training for future work amongst the heathen of the Pacific Islands.

In every direction from which prosperity might flow to the colony, Mr. Angas thus laboriously made a channel for its passage, turning up the sods of ignorance and apathy. He met with discouragements which would have caused one, who had the real interests of the young community and of humanity less at heart, to give up the weary struggle in despair. But, foiled at one point, Mr. Angas only turned with fresh energy to another.

Thus he wrote: "When I found our Government resolved upon doing nothing for us, I commenced an active correspondence with the Continent, and I do confidently expect that we shall get out one hundred Germans this spring to Adelaide. Often enough my spirits sink under my incessant labour, on the one hand from the shameful, cruel, and ungrateful treatment I have met with from many persons in the colony, who have thereby amply repaid me for having been their best and most generous friend; and on the other hand from the utter apathy which universally exists in this country towards the colony. Still I will never abandon the work as long as God enables me to continue it. I began it with the best of intentions, and I shall not leave it in this extremity."

In February, 1844, he wrote that if his resources had not been crippled by the dishonesty of agents in South Australia, he would have been able to send out from one to two thousand Germans as settlers. "But," he added, "beaten down as I am with all my

troubles, I will not rest until you have emigration renewed from this country."

Mr. Angas was successful in his introduction of German colonists, and at his own expense settled large tracts of agricultural country. Many of these communities still retain their Teutonic character. This experiment worked so well that years afterwards Sir George Grey, when Governor of Cape Colony, carried it out on a larger scale, under somewhat different conditions, and with still more marked success.

Captain Grey was able to give valuable assistance to Mr. George French Angas, the talented son of his correspondent. Hardly past boyhood, the young artist author determined to prepare a great work which should make the colony, for which his father had so long and so unselfishly toiled, better known to the British public. With this object he visited South Australia and travelled throughout its length and breadth, collecting information, writing and taking sketches. Before Grey left for New Zealand, Mr. Fife Angas, 'disappointed in the action of the South Australia Company, crippled in resources by his own efforts in the cause of the colony and by the dishonesty of his agents, retired from the directorate and sent some of the younger members of his family to try their fortunes in a humble way in the new lands. They also experienced great kindness at the hands of the Governor. Eventually Mr. Angas himself left England, and cast in his lot completely with the young community.

It is a mournful criticism upon the justice of human judgment to find that after the lapse of a quarter of a century, when Mr. Angas was upwards of eighty years of age, his claims to the gratitude of South Australia and the South Australians were treated with

contempt, his long years of faithful service depreciated, and his lavish expenditure of money and zeal turned into derision.

In 1869, Sir George Grey, himself smarting under unmerited coldness and neglect, received from his old fellow-worker in South Australia, a pathetic letter claiming his sympathy, and asking Sir George Grey to bear testimony to the unselfishness of his efforts for the well-being of the colony, for which, in years long gone by, they had worked so zealously together. The answer given must have done much to soothe the wounded feelings of Mr. Angas, and to vindicate his undoubted services to the colony.

The instability of human affairs was thus strikingly exemplified. Mr. Angas had served the people with a loyal and unswerving faith, and the people had forsaken him. Sir George Grey had served the Government of Great Britain with unexampled vigour and success, and as a reward was dismissed contemptuously. Yet history will record the deeds and achievements of both when the names of their detractors are forgotten.

During the whole of his official career, Grey, like other men of original character and decided views, experienced that opposition which so frequently rises against departures from the ordinary courses of life, and discoveries in science or exploration. The first striking illustration of this principle which he met with arose from the reports made by him concerning the suitability for colonisation of the country which he had traversed in his explorations.

The records which, amid hunger, thirst, and weariness, had been kept of his memorable journey, from Shark Bay to Perth, revealed the existence of land well suited for colonisation. The Western Australian Company, who were then sending a special settle-

ment to the colony, obtained permission of the Colonial Government for the employment of the Beagle, under the command of Captain Stokes, to verify or refute the statements made by Grey as to the suitability of the district before finally selecting it as the site of their projected settlement.

On the 12th of December, 1841, three years after Grey's explorations, the Beagle left Gage Roads for the purpose of fulfilling this duty. It might have been supposed that, with all the advantages at his command, Captain Stokes would have been able to give a more complete description of the country, and form a truer estimate of its suitability for colonisation than his harassed and worn predecessor had been able to do.

Captain Stokes drew up a report upon the district, which stated that the fertile country described by Grey, had no existence; that two rivers mentioned by him, were, in fact, only one; that the points and sites upon his charts were wrongly placed; and that, generally speaking, the whole of his report was incorrect and misleading.

The whole official record of Stokes' survey is eminently unfavourable to Grey, and entirely discredits his accuracy and capacity. A few quotations from Captain Stokes' report, and a short summary of its effect will show the extreme bitterness of the attack which it made upon Grey's reputation.

On the 15th of December, 1841, Captain Stokes and Mr. Clifton, the Chief Commissioner of the Western Australian Company, landed to explore the country round Champion Bay. They absolutely condemned it as unfit for settlement, and as being utterly deficient in the three most essential requisites for human occupation, namely, timber for building, water for consumption and use, and food for stock.

"It was not until it became apparent to my own eyes that I could believe anyone could be so reckless as to induce a large number of individuals, including women and children, by false or at least exaggerated representations, to sever the ties of friendship and of kindred, and become voluntary exiles to a far country in search of a new and more prosperous home; whilst in lieu of the promised streams and fertile plains, nothing in reality awaited them but sterility—the certain loss of property, and the imminent risk of their lives." *

Upon the receipt of this official intelligence the Western Australian Company refused to found a settlement in what was, according to Captain Stokes' report, a sterile desert, "absolutely a mass of bare ironstone."

Western Australia has ever since had reason to regret the so-called survey made by Captain Stokes. Seven years afterwards, Mr. Gregory, the Assistant Surveyor-General of the Colony, conducted an official expedition through this very country, for the purpose of ascertaining its capabilities. His decision, as well as that of subsequent explorers and settlers (for that country is now well settled), is clear and distinct, and substantiates every statement made by Grey. The district is now only second in population, wealth, and importance to that in which Perth, the capital of the colony, is situated.

The place selected by the Western Australian Company ultimately proved unfit for settlement, and the colony itself a lamentable and complete failure, causing ruin, disappointment, and in some instances, death to the unhappy colonists. Had it been placed upon the site originally intended, and on the lands

* Stokes' "Discoveries in Australia." Vol. ii. p. 390.

described by Grey, it would certainly have been successful—a still more prosperous and flourishing settlement than that now in existence. It would have opened a field for colonisation, and brought people and money to that part of Australia at a much earlier date than was the case.

In September and October, 1849, a series of articles was published in the *Western Australian Enquirer*, which discussed the whole subject both as regards the different accounts given by Grey and Stokes, and the intrinsic value to the colony of the locality referred to. The following extract will show what the public opinion was when the facts were fully known :

“We do not expect to exonerate Mr. Grey from the charges so ruthlessly laid against him. We do not presume to attempt it. We merely wish to draw a comparison between his statements and those of his successors, being confident that he will not suffer by the ordeal. Captain Grey does not require any advocate to vindicate his conduct; an answer to the misrepresentations that have been heaped upon him has already appeared in the published report of Assistant-Surveyor Gregory. He has been tried in the furnace of popular opinion, and has come forth unscathed. He endured every toil and danger that could fall to the lot of any traveller. He bore in silence the taunts and sneers of his opponents; for he knew that sooner or later the truth would appear. And it has appeared, and future explorations will make it more apparent; and then will he receive the reward, the long-delayed tribute, so justly due for his past services. He will be happy in the congratulations of his friends, the conviction of his enemies, and, better far, the approving voice of his own heart, which prompts him to feel as an honest man that, though the judgment of contem-

poraries has been long withheld, yet it was not the less acceptable and not the less deserved." *

At the close of the last article on October 10th, 1849, the editor, after apologising for the length of his review, but justifying his prolixity by the importance of the subject itself, and the just claim which Captain Grey had upon the colonists, thus writes :—

"We trust that our object has been attained, and that for Captain Grey there will henceforth exist a feeling opposite to that which has hitherto, at least in this colony, prevailed. He is a man who has done much and endured much for Western Australia. Let us not, then, be wanting in common gratitude. Let us no longer withhold from him what he has so hardly earned, what he so richly deserves—the character of an intrepid and successful explorer, a veracious and painstaking narrator, and an upright, impartial, and honest man."

In this case, as in others in after life, Grey did not attempt to defend himself from attacks made upon him or accusations made against him. In this particular instance he knew that nature itself must prove that he was right. Yet often his silence has been mistaken as an admission of error, while, in truth, it was but the unconcern of a mind conscious of its own rectitude, and indifferent as to the passing appreciation of the moment.

For such a silence he gave a valid reason. He ever maintained that it was the duty of a servant of the Crown to go on in the performance of the public service without devoting time and energy to the refutation of attacks made upon him. He held that such attacks would always be made when public duties were faithfully performed, and that they would meet with adequate and proper judgment when time had

* *Western Australian Enquirer*, September 26, 1849.

afforded the evidence upon which public opinion could be justly expressed. And he considered that the energies of those to whom had been committed great responsibilities were too valuable to be wasted in useless apologies, or lengthened arguments, and should be applied exclusively to useful and beneficial purposes.

It was upon this principle that he acted through life. The only exceptions which he would allow arose when he was directly called on to vindicate his conduct, or when the exigencies of the public service demanded an explanation.

Time has long since settled the dispute between himself and Captain Stokes, as it has settled many others which are not alluded to so fully. The words formerly quoted as having been recently written by Commodore Coghlan,* which so completely confirm the statements made by Mr. Gregory, are the latest testimony to the absolute correctness of the statements made by Captain Grey.

* See page 44.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SUMMONS TO NEW ZEALAND.

"A man, he seems, of cheerful yesterdays
And confident to-morrows."

Wordsworth.

THE circumstances in which Captain Grey received the first intimation that the English Government desired him to proceed to New Zealand and assume the government of that colony was somewhat peculiar, and gave a spice of adventure to the new step. A man-of-war, commanded by an old friend of the Governor, was at Port Adelaide when the first news came from New Zealand of the burning of Kororareka, the attack on Ohaewai, and the slaughter of our men. The news affected the two friends deeply. Their hearts were filled with sorrow and the determination to help the New Zealand Government in its extremity. In a conversation with the commander of the man-of-war, Grey said, "The only thing for you to do is to go as quickly as you can to New Zealand, taking with you all the Government arms and everything useful that we have here." . . .

This fell in exactly with Captain Hay's own wishes, and no time was lost in setting off.

Three or four days later, as the Governor and his step-brother were out riding, they met a man driving a tax-cart at a furious pace. He pulled up on seeing

them,* and said, "Have you heard, sir, that the Elphinstone has come in?" Captain Grey enquired what she, an East Indian man-of-war, was doing in those waters. "She brings the most important news, sir, and I have all the despatches here in the cart for you." Upon hearing this the two gentlemen dismounted, and sitting down on a bank under a hedge by the roadside, opened the letters, which contained the information that the Home authorities had sent out Colonel Holt Robe to take the government of South Australia for a time, while Captain Grey proceeded to New Zealand to take command there. The following extracts from Lord Stanley's despatch are sufficient to give an idea of the tone of the whole communication. It was dated June 13th, 1845, and began:—"After the repeated testimonials I have borne to the value of your public services in administering the government of South Australia, it would be very gratifying to me to prove my esteem for your capacity and your public spirit by proposing to you some other office of higher rank and of increased emolument.

"Still I am convinced that I shall give you a yet more welcome proof of the confidence which Her Majesty reposes in you by inviting you to undertake public duties more arduous and responsible than those in which you have hitherto been engaged, though recommended to your acceptance by hardly any other consideration. The urgent necessity which has arisen for invoking your aid in the government of New Zealand is the single apology I have (to a man of your character it will be an ample apology) for calling on you, with no previous notice, to incur the sacrifices and inconveniences of proceeding thither with the least possible delay after your receipt of this despatch."

After alluding to the Wairau massacre and to the

burning of Russell, it pointed out that the colonisation of New Zealand was not undertaken voluntarily by the English Government, but forced upon Ministers to prevent the evils which seemed to threaten the previous inhabitants from unauthorised settlement, and declared it had been "the anxious and unremitting desire of Her Majesty's Government to avoid, if possible, any actual conflict with the native tribes."

It went on to show that the colony was involved in "financial difficulties of the most serious kind." After regretting the circumstances which precluded him from personally talking over matters with Captain Grey, Lord Stanley writes:—"I am happy in the assurance that that disadvantage will in your case be in great measure compensated by the experience you have gained in the conduct of affairs not altogether dissimilar, and by the energy, capacity, and circumspection which you have exhibited in the conduct of them.

"I devolve on you a responsibility which it seems impossible for me to narrow, and of which I am persuaded you will acquit yourself in such a manner as to enhance your claims to the approbation of the Queen and the gratitude of Her Majesty's subjects."

In the event of Captain Grey being unable or unwilling to undertake the responsible task on such short notice, the Secretary for the Colonies requested him to communicate with Sir George Gipps, who it was believed would not hesitate to accept the position. The appointment was only regarded as temporary, and provision was made for supplying Captain Grey's place in South Australia during his absence in New Zealand.

As the two brothers read the despatches, including the letter of Lord Stanley to the Governor of South Australia, with its terms of high appreciation and unmeasured confidence, Grey felt that a portion of

the reward of public labour faithfully performed was being meted to him with no niggard hand.

The struggle in South Australia had been sometimes wearisome and monotonous. The accusations which had been made against him, the animosities which he had aroused in many quarters by his bold and unswerving policy, had tended to discourage him as to the ultimate result of his efforts. Those results, nevertheless, had been on the whole marvellously successful. He had seen the people subside from a mutinous crowd into a well-ordered and thriving community. Roads had been driven into regions comparatively distant, fertile lands opened for settlement, and over thousands of square miles of territory corn lands and pasture yielded to the prevailing industry of once-idle factionaries the harvests of wealth and toil. The revenue had steadily increased, keeping pace with the growing commerce. "Overlanders" had come from New South Wales with mobs of cattle and flocks of sheep, and had developed fresh country upon the banks of great rivers and on the plains which intervened in the course of their journeys.

Besides the success which had attended his efforts since 1841, the life itself had been one of almost continual enjoyment. The brilliant climate, the ever-fresh scenery, the discoveries of new territories fit for human habitation, the conscious moulding of the institutions of a new community, the freehanded and generous hospitality of colonial life, the constant change and freshness of character with which in all classes of this strange society he was brought into contact, the ardent and successful pursuit of many branches of science—all aided in giving to his four years' tenure of office a charm and fulness which could not be forgotten.

Yet the summons to a different and a wider sphere

of action was not unpleasant. The work in South Australia which he had been sent to do was in fact accomplished. The finances of the young colony had been put in proper order, her social and municipal government regulated, and she was started upon a fair and safe career of prosperity. The work was finished, and he felt a sentiment of pride and joy on this new call to duty in a land where courage and capacity would equally be demanded to deal with the strange and wonderful circumstances by which he must be surrounded.

As, sitting by the roadside, he read Lord Stanley's despatch, his cheek coloured, and his eye glowed with a new fire. He felt that the second chapter in the active history of his life was finished. In the first he had had to deal with exceptional conditions of danger and privation. In the second he had been called upon to exert talent and power in different directions in the management of men and the adaptation of circumstances. Now he was requested to depart upon a different course and meet the savage tribes of New Zealand; to control the passions of many men, gathered from different parts of the earth and from many callings, who had settled in the southern islands of romance; to watch over the safety of widely scattered communities, surrounded by foes considerable in number, desperate in courage, cunning in attack. This was indeed a duty likely to task to the very uttermost all the powers of which he felt the conscious possession.

Fully alive to the difficulties and responsibilities of the new position, Captain Grey was yet not daunted by them. His decision was immediately taken, and no time was lost in making all preparations for departure and leaving Adelaide in the Elphinstone.

The people in South Australia had been much annoyed when their supplies and arms were previ-

ously sent to New Zealand, and when they heard that their Governor was about to follow, they believed that he had known from the first, and had planned to take these away for his use in another colony. Afterwards, finding by the despatches that they were wrong in their suspicions, they began with pleasure to take credit to themselves for being the first to send help to New Zealand. No remnant of the undeserved unpopularity against which he had had to contend at first marred the heartfelt gratitude and esteem or the deep and universal regret of the South Australians at his departure.

During the four years of his Governorship, Grey did not relax the discharge of those minor but gentle duties to society which have in every land been associated with his presence. Advice and assistance to Christian churches, to schools, and to students were always given on proper occasions; and when want pressed heavily on considerable numbers of the labouring population of the colony, he gave with a free and liberal hand to their necessities. In such a work as this it is impossible to give due prominence to what Wordsworth called

“That best portion of a good man's life—
His little, nameless, unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love.”

In matters more intimately affecting his own life and feelings, the eight years Grey spent in Australia were fraught with mingled happiness and sorrow. They brought him love and marriage. There a son was born to him, and hopeful affection drew bright pictures of the child's future. But when Captain and Mrs. Grey left Adelaide for New Zealand in 1845, they took with them the memory only of that young life.

CHAPTER X.

REVIEW OF GREY'S LIFE IN AUSTRALIA, CORRESPONDENCE, AND SCIENTIFIC PURSUITS.

“How charming is divine philosophy !
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose ;
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns.”

Milton's “ Comus.”

“To him who in the love of Nature holds
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks
A various language.”

Bryant.

EIGHT years had passed since Grey, then an ardent young explorer, had landed in Australia. His career as a colonial governor and a founder of new states in new lands had actually commenced. To suppose, however, that the mere duties of government, difficult as they were, had occupied the whole of his attention, would be far from the truth. His love of science never wavered, and his application to the study of nature was constant. The troubles inseparable from the position which he had voluntarily taken did not exhaust the energy which he devoted to the business of life. To intense admiration of all natural beauties, and a keen perception of the new and surprising visions which everywhere met his eyes, he added the close attention which the student gives to the objects spread out before him.

The languages of the tribes, the natural products of

the island-continent, the trees, the plants, the animals—all new, not merely to him, but to the scientists of Europe—claimed his attention. As in his short stay at Teneriffe he had made observations and collected the phrases and vocabulary of an extinct native tongue; as in his explorations he had studied the manners, customs, and dialects of the Australian blacks—so, during his Governorship of South Australia, he devoted sufficient time and energy to the study of its natural history as to enable him to send contributions to the British Museum and to the Royal Conservatory at Kew, which called forth the admiration and gratitude of those who occupied a leading position in the scientific world.

Many acknowledgments of valuable contributions were received by him from the Royal Library at Berlin. A letter from Professor Owen, from the College of Surgeons, dated May, 1839, contains the following paragraph:—

“All the specimens you sent were new to us, or of great rarity; and, what is more to the purpose, of great utility. I shall soon commence a monograph on the muscles and other parts of the hooded lizard. Your note on the action of the hood is a new and interesting fact in its history.”

In December, 1840, at the close of his second expedition, and after his return to England, he made his first donation to the British Museum, consisting of mineral and zoological specimens from Australia. This gift was followed up in January and February, 1841, by two valuable collections of fossils and shells from the same land.

During his residence at Albany, he sent to London a collection of specimens of various sorts, for which a letter of “especial thanks” was sent by the Council of the British Museum, dated April 23, 1842.

On his return to Australia in 1841 he started busily to work in the same direction, and in July, 1843, the Museum in London received another donation from him, comprising three hundred and seventy-four specimens of birds, three eggs, and a snake, followed in October of the same year by two hundred and sixty-seven specimens of birds, and thirty of mammals. So valuable and numerous were the collections which he thus transmitted that, in addition to the usual letters of thanks by the trustees to contributors, in October, 1844, Mr. Forshall, Secretary to the Board of Trustees, despatched a letter to Captain Grey, containing the following acknowledgment: "We really feel our obligation to you, and that your contributions are some of the most interesting which we can boast in the department of zoology." This accompanied the formal acknowledgment of the receipt of a present of fifteen specimens of mammals, twenty-eight birds, four reptiles, seven fish, and one crustacean from South Australia.

In 1845 the stream of his contributions still flowed in from South Australia to enrich the national collection. Three donations were acknowledged by the trustees during the year, comprising two hundred and sixty-five species of plants, a series of rock specimens and minerals, two hundred and ninety in number, and a large number of skins of mammals and birds. The last gift of South Australian specimens was acknowledged on March 18th, 1847, after Captain Grey had gone to New Zealand.

The British Museum was not the only recipient of the results of his untiring energy and scientific knowledge. In 1840 and 1842 he contributed to the Royal Geographical Society copies of the vocabulary of the dialects of South-western Australia, with a map of Western Australia, and his "Journal of Two

Expeditions in Western and North-western Australia."

Early in 1841 the Horticultural Society of London tendered him their thanks for a present of fifty-two papers of seeds from Australia, and a year later the Geological Society of London gratefully acknowledged a collection of fossils from the cliffs beyond the north-west bend of the Murray.

It would be impossible here, as in the other period of Grey's life, to describe minutely the numerous donations made by him to museums, libraries, schools, and other centres of public thought and education. From time to time it will be proper to glance at some of his principal benefactions; but it must be always understood and remembered that no attempt is made to give in detail, or with any completeness, their full enumeration. Gathered with immense care, at continual expense both of time and of money, with wonderful discrimination, and incomparable variety of knowledge, the museums and libraries of every country in Europe, and of most of the great colonies have been enriched by the munificence of Sir George Grey.

With this earnest longing for fuller information on all matters connected with Australia, there mingled no petty jealousy of the discoveries made by other men. Grey was animated, not by the desire to have his name associated with some great discovery, but by the hope that he might be of use in adding to the sum of general knowledge, and making that knowledge accessible to thousands outside the narrow circle of scientific students. So long as the results of his observations and the logical deductions which his own readings and researches enabled him to make, were published to the world, he cared little or nothing that those who benefited by his labours should be impressed by his attainments.

Thus we find that while the foremost men of the day in many different branches of learning unhesitatingly acknowledge their indebtedness to him, and ask for his opinion and advice in formulating their own theories, yet the general public is quite unaware that he ever attained any special excellence in these directions.

Both the fact of his generous friendship and assistance towards explorers, discoverers, and struggling literary men, and that of the deference paid to his opinion by men of high scientific attainments, are clearly proved by many acknowledgments. While Captain Grey was Governor of South Australia he kept up a large and interesting correspondence with all parts of the world.

Nor was Sir George Grey forgetful in later years of the labours and merits of those who had braved the perils of an unknown continent to open the way for the peaceful settlement of men. In March, 1869, he and Sir Henry Young, successive Governors of South Australia, addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, urging the claim of Sturt to knighthood as the earliest of living Australian explorers, and on other grounds. Their request was granted, but Sturt died before the honour could be conferred upon him.

A monument at the summit of Stamford Hill, overlooking St. Vincent Gulf, was erected by Sir John Franklin to the memory of Captain Flinders, during Captain Grey's Governorship of South Australia. The spot was chosen by Lady Franklin as being not only suitable in itself, but also because (as Sir John Franklin wrote to the Governor when asking his co-operation in the work) "the ports and islands bear the names of his native country, and of the places in the immediate vicinity of that of his birth."

Although Captain Grey and Sir John Franklin

never met they carried on a correspondence, opened by the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, who wrote on October 3rd, 1841, congratulating Captain Grey on his appointment to South Australia, and forwarding a copy of the first number of a Tasmanian journal of science, edited by the Governor's private secretary, their purpose being "to give and invite accurate information on some portions of the natural history of the Australian colonies, and to show that even in a penal colony there are persons who can direct their attention to other subjects than chains and convicts."

That Sir Charles Lyell, the eminent geologist, entertained a warm friendship for Grey as a man, and a high admiration for his knowledge and opinions, is shown by his letters, one or two extracts from which may be of some interest.

In one letter, dated January, 1843, he thanks Captain Grey for a box of fossils, and states that the Geological Society and Professor Owen entirely agreed with the opinion Governor Grey had formed of some interesting cetacean remains which he had sent home. "No small sensation was created by Owen discovering about a month ago for the first time a non-marsupial mammiferous bone in some fossil sent, I think, ninety miles inland from Moreton Bay." He refers it to some pachyderm allied to "Demotherium." So the kangaroos had not your word all to themselves."

In a letter written in 1862 he writes: "I am coming out with a volume on the 'Geological Evidence of the Antiquity of Man,' and shall treat of many subjects we talked over together. Although several of your presents sent to the Zoological Gardens from the Cape were lost, your donations make a great show there at present." He also expresses a firm belief that England would have been spared the loss of

more than a million sterling if Sir George had gone to New Zealand a year or two earlier.

Writing to Sir George in March, 1860, he speaks in a rather regretful tone of the fact that he had received an invitation to dine with Her Majesty on an evening which he had previously intended to devote to receiving Sir George at the Geological Society Club.

Sir John Lubbock was indebted to Captain Grey for some valuable information sent in reply to the following little note:—

My dear Sir George,—I am working at a book on “Modern Savages,” and am very anxious to know your views as to the religious dogmas of the Australians, especially with reference to the Kobongs. I know that they are regarded with much mystery, but are they looked on and worshipped as actual gods? My impression is that they are not, but I am anxious to know your opinion on the subject.—Believe me to be, dear Sir George, yours most sincerely,

JOHN LUBBOCK.

The Governor was never too busy to attend to such requests. The web of his life, while presenting a bold and consistent pattern throughout, will yet repay a close and minute scrutiny, the seemingly trivial details being wonderfully perfect and complete. The innumerable threads of purpose, knowledge and principle—some thick and strong as cables, some delicate as gossamer—may be traced with unbroken continuity through the whole fabric.

It is given to but few men to exercise so great an influence in so many different spheres of action and of thought, as Captain Grey was privileged to do.

Considering the number and variety of his pursuits, remembering the thoroughness with which he entered into all, and taking into account the fact that his health still suffered from the effects of his exploring expeditions, we feel that a sentence from one of Arnold Forster's letters expresses a simple truth: “I

have often wondered how, with such delicate health as "I thought you had when in Adelaide, you could get through such hard work."

When from the deck of the *Elphinstone*, steering south-east, he saw the Australian shores sink beneath the horizon, the history of the last eight years came vividly enough to his mind. The landing in Hanover Bay, his first day's adventure, with its imminent perils from the sea, from the sun, and from the natives; the wounds which he received from the spears of the savages, the destruction of the stores at Bernier Island; the terrible march from Shark Bay to Perth; his appointment to the Governorship of South Australia, and the four years of his administration there—were past, but certainly not forgotten. He neither knew nor thought that his connection with Australia was ended. He was only enjoying leave of absence from South Australia in order that he might perform a great public work in the more southern colony. He expected to return and resume his duties in Adelaide as soon as his work in New Zealand was accomplished.

Events, however, do not transpire as they are expected. Grey was not to return to Australia, but again to be relieved by another Governor, and shifted to another part of the earth, to undertake a still more arduous task. He looked his last, therefore, upon the great island-continent as the *Elphinstone* sailed towards the Britain of the South.*

Grateful to his Maker for the guidance and protection which he had enjoyed, rejoicing at the successful accomplishment of the work which had been committed to him so confidently by Lord John Russell, he looked forward to the difficult task which lay before

* When this was written, Sir George Grey's visit to Australia as a member of the Federal Convention was not thought of.

him with equal confidence and delight. He had read of New Zealand; he had met men who had landed upon its shores and mingled with its aboriginal inhabitants; he had heard of its glorious climate, of its tangled forests, its noble harbours, its snow-tipped mountains, its rushing torrents, its peaceful lakes and smiling plains. It was with no slight anticipation that he looked forward to his arrival in the new scene of duty, and the unfolding of a new chapter in his life's work.

In South Australia he had found discontent, mutiny, want, despair; he had left, after four years of patient and unremitting toil, contentment, peaceful industry, and prosperity. What new scenes of trouble and of danger he had to face he knew not, but relying on the Hand which had guided and defended him through dangers and troubles during the last eight years, and gratified beyond measure at the confidence displayed by Her Majesty's Government in his capacity and courage; he went forward without a single fear as to the ultimate result.

Book the Third.

FIRST GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND, 1845-1854.

CHAPTER XI.

CAPTAIN GREY'S ARRIVAL AT AUCKLAND. SKETCH OF THE PREVIOUS HISTORY OF THE COLONY.

"Oh! pitiless race of the fierce pale face!
Hadst thou a warrant from God,
In the cold grey north to come south and drive forth
The peaceable people who trod,
By right of their birth, their own spot of earth?
Was there not room under heaven
For thy people and mine, that my people by thine
To death and destruction were given?
You came unsought, and the gifts you brought,
As Christians from over the wave,
Were greed for land, and a merciless hand,
And the fire-drink that digs the grave."

Australian Writer.

ON the 14th of November, 1845, the *Elphinstone*, after beating down the coast of the North Island of New Zealand, sailed across the Hauraki Gulf, and landed Captain Grey at Auckland. With intense interest the new Governor of the young colony beheld the striking features of this portion of New Zealand rising into view. When the ship passed by the Barrier Islands, with the bold headland of Cape Colville in sight; and when coming past Kawaia (in future years to be his residence), Rangitoto, Mount Eden, and the shores of the Waitemata rose slowly above the horizon—the cloudless sky above and the blue waters of the Pacific

beneath—he easily understood the enthusiasm with which travellers had spoken of the scenery of New Zealand.

It was not publicly known in the colony that Captain Fitzroy was to be superseded, although rumours of such a change had gained circulation. The Governor was in Auckland. The assistance he had asked was indeed being given, but was to be used by another. No trace of disappointment appeared in his demeanour. On the contrary, he treated his successor with great kindness and consideration during the short time they were together in New Zealand.

The four days succeeding the 14th were spent by Captain Grey in obtaining all possible information as to the position of affairs in the colony. Captain Fitzroy laid before him all means of access to the knowledge he required. The Government officers, and Government papers as well, tended to throw light upon the causes which had led to the position then occupied, and pointed to the dangers ahead if prompt measures were not taken.

Captain Hobson had in 1840 assumed command under his commission, although New Zealand for the first year of its existence as a colony was a dependency of New South Wales. For a time there had been no difficulties with the natives.

The anxiety of the first Governor was aroused by the action of the European colonists, especially that of the officers and emigrants of the New Zealand Company. In November, 1840, a patent or charter had been granted freeing New Zealand from its dependence on New South Wales, and creating it into a separate colony. Captain Hobson was appointed Governor, and a Council, composed of various officials and some colonists nominated by himself, was appointed to aid him in the government.

A fatal error was, however, committed by the English Cabinet in connection with the creation of the Colony of New Zealand. The New Zealand Company was formally recognised by a despatch from Lord John Russell, and an arrangement was made by Ministers that the directors of the Company in London should co-operate with the Government in New Zealand in advancing the settlement of the colony. This step led to most of the complications, and to much of the ill-feeling which afterwards arose in the administration of public affairs.

The native wars are distinctly traceable to the great power exercised, and the boundless ambition displayed by the Company and its officials. The colonists who had arrived at Port Nicholson found that the natives still claimed the land of which the Company were the alleged purchasers. The idleness and discontent which naturally followed their futile efforts to obtain land for settlement soon made them dangerous. They appealed to Captain Hobson to enforce the sales which they declared the natives had made. He refused. They complained of the Government being in Auckland, at a great distance from the place of their location. Some moved to Wanganui to get land; another party was sent, under the auspices of the Company, to Taranaki; and although Hobson issued a proclamation forbidding settlement in a place well known to be filled with warlike and quarrelsome natives, the Company's settlers landed at New Plymouth and began to build.

In 1841 lands were sold in Auckland, and a system of customs and of police made a rude commencement of political and financial institutions in the new colony. Disputes, meanwhile, arose in London between the Company and the Colonial Office, which were paraphrased in New Zealand by conflicts be-

tween Captain Hobson, as Governor, and Colonel Wakefield, with the Company's settlers at his back. Clamorous demands were still made that the Governor should place these settlers upon the land they claimed by force. It was useless to argue that the Treaty of Waitangi bound him to respect the rights of the Maoris; that it would be an act of tyranny and oppression to take the tribal lands from the possession of the natives without the decision of a competent tribunal; and that at all hazards justice must be done. The new colonists were idle. They had paid their money in good faith in London, and they saw the land they claimed lying unoccupied and unused.

The position of Captain Hobson was most difficult. The colonists in Wellington established a Government for themselves, and it was not until Lieutenant Shortland with a company was sent to Wellington to assert the authority of the Governor with a high hand that order was restored, and a properly conducted administration settled in the future capital. In 1841 the Company in London had issued a fresh prospectus, and sold another 200,000 acres of land. In August the new settlers arrived under the leadership of Captain Arthur Wakefield.

Hobson met the Wakefields in Wellington. He wished the settlers to go north to Whangarei, and promised help in the obtaining of land there. The Wakefields objected. A species of compromise was made, and Blind Bay, on the other side of Cook's Straits, was fixed upon by common consent as the seat of the Company's settlement. When the surveyors left Wellington in October but little was known of the South Island, and they were favourably impressed with the extensive fertile country at Wairau, and the green hills around it. A site for a town was fixed upon, and called Nelson; the Wairau was

explored ; and favourable reports forwarded to headquarters. This led to the first serious conflict between the two races.

Rauparaha and Rangihæta on hearing of the Wairau survey asserted their claim to the land, stating that it had never been sold with the exception of a small piece given to Captain Blenkinsop. The Wakefields, however, would not give way. They insisted on the survey being completed. A commissioner had been sent from London to inquire into the land claims of the New Zealand Company, and Rauparaha, alleging his willingness to submit to the decision of a proper court, demanded that nothing should be done till Mr. Spain arrived. At the end of the year Mr. Spain landed in New Zealand, but before entering upon his duties proceeded to Auckland to gather information.

Ultimately the Wakefields declined to wait for the decision of Mr. Commissioner Spain, a conflict ensued, and thirty of the Europeans were killed. This is the historical "Wairau Massacre" which commenced the native troubles in New Zealand.

Colonists had now begun to arrive in considerable numbers. Everywhere the discontent between the Maoris and Europeans was increasing. The Company's settlers, by petition and in various ways, violently attacked the administration of Captain Hobson, who, weak from illness, was overwhelmed with his anxieties. On the 10th of September, 1842, the first Governor of New Zealand died. The address sent by the Maori chiefs to the Queen shows the esteem they felt for Hobson's character. They asked that the Queen would send them another Governor, "a good man like the Governor who has just died." Before his death Sir William Martin and Bishop Selwyn had arrived in the colony.

A short interval, during which Mr. Willoughby Shortland became acting Governor, occurred between the death of Hobson and the arrival of his successor. Disputes at this time grew in intensity between the natives and the Europeans. The colonists asserted their rights to land, and put up fences and houses. The Maoris destroyed them. These disputes culminated in one locality, as we have seen, in the Wairau massacre. Troops were sent for. The colonists were in a state of fear as to a general Maori rising. The morning of New Zealand's history was clouded over, and the country was in a condition of unrest and terror when Captain Fitzroy landed at Auckland as Governor in December, 1843.

No man ever plunged into a more veritable hornet's nest than Fitzroy entered in New Zealand. He quarrelled with the Europeans; he quarrelled with the natives. Eminently desirous to carry on his Government in the best interests of both races he armed them both against himself with invincible hostility. A man of great justice of character, of considerable reputation as a scientific man, clever in his own profession, he yet left the impression that he was a partizan, and unable even to control himself.

The officials gradually fell into the general opposition against him. Nor did he fail to arouse an enmity as deep if not deeper than that felt for Captain Hobson in the directors and officers of the New Zealand Company. To add to his difficulties, the Colonial Office, anxious about New Zealand affairs, and apprehensive of grave troubles arising there, complained bitterly.

Captain Fitzroy seemed destined to misfortune from the very commencement of his Governorship. The Treasury being empty he commenced the issue of debentures, and in so doing created without

authority of law a new currency. Following upon the disaster at Wairau, in July, 1844, Hone Heke, son-in-law of the great Hongi (well known in New Zealand story), cut down the flagstaff at Kororareka, believing that so long as the English flag waved on New Zealand soil, that soil itself would be claimed by the pakcha strangers. The flagstaff was indeed put up again, and several chiefs undertook to restrain Heke, but within six months, in January, 1845, the young and fiery chief had returned, and once more cut down his old enemy.

On this occasion prompt measures were taken to punish the offenders. A man-of-war and a military force were sent to Kororareka, and the flagstaff, now plated and shod with iron, was again erected. Heke, joined by Kawiti and other chiefs, attacked the town, cut down the flagstaff, iron-shod as it was, for the third time, took Kororareka, and drove the military and marines, with severe loss, on board their ships. The town was plundered and burnt by the Maoris, but so chivalrous were these people in the conduct of their warfare that they not only permitted the Europeans to take away papers and any property or jewellery that they desired, but they guarded the public buildings and the churches, and helped the townspeople to carry the things they wished to save down to the boats.

Bishop Selwyn and the missionary, Henry Williams, were permitted to search for the wounded and the dead without molestation. Selwyn, in after life, telling of the sack of Kororareka, never forgot to narrate how when he found a party of natives preparing to broach a cask of rum which they had secured, they nevertheless permitted him to turn the tap, and allow all the spirits to run down into the gutter.

The people of Auckland had been credibly informed that Hone Heke intended to attack that town and that he had two thousand resolute and well-armed natives at his back, but they also knew that Waka Nene and the friendly chiefs had stated openly that if he attempted such a step they would meet him with even superior forces, and drive him back to the forests of the north.

Reinforcements were sent from Sydney, but this only led to a still more serious disaster. After a decided repulse which our troops received in their attack upon Okaihau, in May, a force of between six and seven hundred men under Colonel Despard of the 99th, besieged Hone Heke in his pah at Ohacwai. On the first of July, in spite of the earnest warnings of the friendly Maoris, and against the opinions of his own officers, Colonel Despard ordered an assault on the pah by a storming party two hundred strong.

Tamati Waka Nene, a chief whose fidelity was never doubted, and whose courage no man dared to question, denounced the assault as madness. It was, he said, sending brave men to death, and he refused either to join in it himself or to allow any of his people to take part in so hopeless an undertaking.

Beneath an afternoon sun the men, headed gallantly by their officers, rushed at the pah. A few, led by Lieutenant Philpott of the Hazard—himself a great favourite of the natives—did actually surmount the first of the three rows of defences, only to be shot down in front of the second. The predictions of Waka Nene were swiftly fulfilled. It is said that in ten minutes half the attacking force was killed or wounded. Horrified by the carnage, Colonel Despard ordered the bugles to sound a retreat. One hundred and three men out of the two hundred of the attacking party were killed or wounded.

CHAPTER XII.

SPEEDY AND TRIUMPHANT CONCLUSION OF THE MAORI WAR.

“ Unbounded courage and compassion joined,
Tempering each other in the victor's mind,
Alternately proclaim him good and great,
And make the hero and the man complete.”

Addison.

WHEN, five months after the repulse at Ohaewai, Captain Grey arrived to take over the Government of New Zealand, assistance was coming to the colony from many quarters. From India, from China, and from Australia, ships of war had been sent with men and military material. The money and munitions of war which he himself had forwarded from South Australia were especially useful. He found everything in confusion—finance, Government, military, natives, settlers. It would hardly be possible to imagine a more tangled skein than that which the new Governor was called upon to unwind. In addition to the disasters which had already been made public in England, were the reverses which our arms had sustained at Okaihau and Ohaewai, with the consequent increase of confidence among the disaffected Maoris, and dismay and confusion of the few and scattered European settlers.

No time was lost in regrets or ceremonies. In a few days Grey had decided as to the course to be taken. With the treasure brought from South Aus-

tralia he called in, and partly paid, the debentures issued by Captain Fitzroy. These were payable at a fixed date, bearing interest at six per cent., and amounted to £37,000. He put a stop to the sale of firearms to the Maoris, in the face of a bitter opposition, and after a desperate struggle in the Council, by an Order. When Grey left in 1854 this was repealed, and the natives then bought the arms with which our people were slaughtered in the great wars. He also prohibited the purchase of native land by private individuals. He organised a body of native armed police, under European officers. He entered into negotiations with friendly chiefs, with a view to appoint them magistrates under the Crown, at small salaries. He arranged with Waka Nene, who was in command of the friendly natives, that all his fighting men should receive regular rations. He publicly broke off negotiations with Heke and Kawiti until they should ask for peace and forgiveness. He issued a proclamation to the natives, warning them that he should treat as hostile those tribes which did not render assistance when it was in their power. Within a week of his arrival in the colony he had proceeded in the *Elphinstone* to the Bay of Islands. Within five days of his landing at Auckland he had written and transmitted to Lord Stanley a despatch, in which he described the state of affairs then existing, and the measures which he intended to adopt.

He saw at once that the native mind had become impressed with the superior prowess and skill of their own race. The old belief in the superiority of the white man, rudely shaken by the conflict at Wairau, further weakened by the sack of Kororareka and the repulse at Okaihau, had been for the time destroyed by the slaughter and defeat of the English at Ohae-wai. In New Zealand there were at that time at least

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one hundred and twenty thousand Maoris, while the European residents numbered only from ten thousand to twelve thousand, scattered over distant settlements, without means of co-operation for defence. The natives were a race born for military undertakings, and, in some of the characteristics of soldiers, unsurpassed by any people on earth. The Europeans were untrained to military service, unaccustomed to the use of arms, and eminently wishful for a life of peace and quiet.

Although the disaffected natives were yet in a minority, their numbers had rapidly increased with the successes of Heke and Kawiti, and Grey saw that he must strike an immediate and successful blow. One or two more defeats would ensure the destruction of the infant colony and the expulsion of the Europeans from New Zealand or their destruction in it.

The speed and energy which the new Governor exhibited in the measures which have been already detailed suffered no abatement in his subsequent proceedings. Ohaewai had been abandoned by Hone Heke, and a new pah, still more strongly fortified and in an almost impregnable position, had been built at Ruapekapeka (The Bat's Nest). At this point, strong as it appeared, Grey determined to deliver a blow which should be felt throughout both islands. Heke himself had been wounded in a skirmish with Waka Nene's people, and was stationed at Kaikohe, twenty miles from Ruapekapeka, of which strong fortress Kawiti was in command.

Within five weeks of his arrival in the colony, the Governor put eleven hundred men in motion against the Maoris at the Bat's Nest. A camp was formed near the Kawakawa river, and the troops were set to work on making that first military necessity, a practical road to the scene of intended operations. Mac-

quaric, a friendly chief, was despatched to hold Heke in check, in case he should attempt to advance from Kaikohe to relieve Ruapekapeka.

In a fortnight the road was completed sufficiently to enable the men to draw the guns on carts to the front, and the siege commenced. Within the pah Kawiti raised his flag. Frequent sorties were made by the Maoris, but they were repulsed and driven back on every occasion. Meanwhile the artillery which had been brought by the new road was playing continuously upon the palisading of the pah. So strong and ingenious were the fortifications that ten days elapsed before any apparent effect was produced by the cannon shot of the besiegers. During this time the wily old chief Kawiti and his people used every means to provoke a repetition of the assault which had proved so fatal at Ohacwai. The natives, however, had not here to deal with an impulsive military officer who undervalued the strength of the place he was attacking and the courage of the men who defended it. They were opposed now by a man who had learnt patience in a good school, whose courage was always cool, and who was determined to succeed in the task which he had set himself to perform. A letter from Sir Everard Home, written early in January, 1846, to Captain Grey, then at Ruapekapeka, gives a graphic description of Kawiti pressed for want of water in his pah, and of the old Maori women fetching it.

In another letter, written in the preceding month, Sir Everard exhibits a fine scorn for any difficulties of government save those involved in the native war. "You know," he writes, "that all New Zealand depends upon the result of the work now in hand. Never mind the debentures, but *come here as soon as you can. COME.*"

On the 10th January, 1846, two small breaches were seen. On the 11th (Sunday), the garrison, anxious at once to celebrate Divine service (for they were Christian natives), and to be safe from the missiles of war, retired from the interior of the pah to a slight valley in its rear. Waka Nene's brother, Wi Waka, noticing the silence within the pah, and hearing the sound of hymns, immediately surmised what had taken place. Communicating his belief to the Governor and Sir Everard Home, an assault was at once ordered. The pah was entered. The Maori garrison, rushing back, met the troops; a smart hand-to-hand fight took place. Outnumbered and outgeneralled, the Maoris were completely defeated.

At a loss of twelve killed and thirty-one wounded the Bat's Nest was taken, and Hone Heke's power and prestige destroyed. So well had Macquarie performed his duty, that Heke had been unable to reach Ruapekapeka till the eventful Sunday, during the time of the conflict, and then only with sixty followers. The fighting chief was too late. His men were swept away among the defeated garrison, and he and Kawiti made head no more. A complete record of the Maori loss was not attainable, but it was severe. Bravely following gallant leaders, they did all that men could do; but discipline, arms, and numbers were against them.

Military visitors to the great Exhibition in 1851 were struck by the ingenuity and strength displayed in a model of a Maori pah, made and exhibited by Colonel Balneavis. That model was roughly taken from the pah at Ruapekapeka. Even yet the student of military fortification finds his interest awakened by another model of the same fortress, presented by Colonel Wynyard to the United Service Museum.

The blow had been fairly delivered. Its importance

and weight were fully appreciated by the Maoris. They confessed themselves beaten. Within a fortnight the Governor's trusted ally, Waka Nene, came to Auckland, whither Grey, with most of the troops, had returned, bringing a letter from Kawiti requesting peace.

Waka Nene, wise in council, as he was brave in war, supported the request made by his grim old foe; and, equally generous as he was wise and brave, voluntarily offered to forego the claims which he and his people might allege to land taken from their beaten enemies.

With sincere pleasure and gratitude the Governor acceded to the prayer for peace set forth in Kawiti's letter. The noble unselfishness displayed by Waka Nene gave him unqualified delight. Determined to meet these native chiefs in their own spirit of frankness and generosity, he immediately issued a proclamation, stating that the chiefs having submitted themselves to the Queen's authority, the war was ended. Pardon was granted to all who had been in arms. They were to return to their kaingas, cultivate the ground, fish in the rivers and sea, and live at peace.

Once only did the Governor and Heke meet. In 1848, when visiting the Waimate, the Governor met the redoubtable chief at the hospitable board of the Rev. Mr. Burrows. They talked together cordially, but the flagstaff was not alluded to, nor were the names of Okaihau, Kororaraka, Ohaewai, or Ruapekapeka mentioned. They, however, corresponded, and Heke, by will, left his lands to Governor Grey. It is needless to say that the Governor gave his rights to Heke's relatives.

Two years afterwards Heke, still a young man, fell a victim to consumption. After his defeat at Ruape-

kapeka he became despondent as to the future of his people. He saw them, as he said, "as in a vision, drying up as a river when there is no rain." When sinking into his last slumber he spoke pathetically of that time, not far distant, when the missionaries would ring their bells for the Maoris, but there would be none to answer.

Kawiti lived four years longer than his comrade. He was a very old man, being upwards of seventy when, on that fatal Sunday morning, he had led his intrepid followers in the attempt to recapture the Bat's Nest.

Two months had not yet passed since Captain Grey's arrival in New Zealand, but the whole aspect of affairs was changed. The war which threatened the extinction of the infant colony was brought to an abrupt and triumphant ending ; the prestige of the European was again established ; terms of peace, neither derogatory to the Crown, nor to the natives, were agreed upon ; while the strength and weight of the new Governor's hand was felt and acknowledged by all the tribes. They believed, also, that while it was the hand of a strong ruler, it was the hand of a faithful friend.

This successful termination of the war, coupled with reforms and remedial measures adopted in regard to finance, the purchase of native lands, the sale of fire-arms, and the organization of a native police force, placed the colony in a condition at once safe and hopeful. The trust which Her Majesty's Government had so generously placed in Captain Grey had been abundantly justified. Colonists were jubilant ; the natives filled with admiration of the skill, promptitude, and kindness of the new Governor.

When the despatches recording the transactions of his first eight weeks' Governorship of New Zealand

reached London, Her Majesty's Ministers, as well as the public press, spoke loudly in approval. • Even the most sanguine friends of Captain Grey—men who, like Lord Glenelg and Sir James Stephen, had watched his course with unmingled pleasure—had not dared to hope that such swift success would have crowned his first efforts to restore peace, order, and safety to such a scene of confusion and danger as New Zealand presented.

CHAPTER XIII.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.

“ Ill fares the land, to hastening woe a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.
Princes and lords many flourish, or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath has made,
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.”

Goldsmith.

THE difficulties which were presented by the Maori war, and the necessity of acquiring a knowledge of the native language, religion, and literature, were not the only obstacles to peaceable and successful government which Captain Grey had to encounter. The cupidity and ambition of his fellow-countrymen, the restless and adventurous spirit of the first colonists of New Zealand, gave rise to continual conflicts and continual dangers. Taking the tide of public opinion on his system of colonization at the flood, Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield and a large circle of friends and admirers had registered a joint stock company destined to become famous, or rather infamous, as the New Zealand Company.

This corporate body was formed for the purpose of colonizing New Zealand upon Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's plan, and to make money. At that time New Zealand was a free and sovereign power. It owned allegiance to no authority beyond its own shores. Its tribes were free to deal with intending

settlers as they chose. No law but that which the chiefs chose to make, and which they had power to enforce, existed from Cape Maria Van Diemen to Stewart's Island. To this land—fertile, beautiful, and waste—the longing eyes of Mr. Wakefield and his friends were turned. In defiance of the warnings of the British Government, numbers of people were attracted by the hopes held out by the Company, and joined in the adventure. Money flowed in swiftly, because intending emigrants and speculators had to pay in London for the land they were to own in New Zealand. Colonel Wakefield was hurriedly despatched to obtain land from the natives. Purchasers flocked to the London office. In a short time upwards of one hundred thousand pounds was received as purchase money.

Without waiting to hear that a spot sufficient even to land upon had been purchased, the Company sent off several ships filled with emigrants to find a home, if possible, among the savage and warlike Maoris. This “highly irregular and improper conduct” (Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1844) was consistent with the purposes for which the Company was formed. “The New Zealand Company was founded for two objects: the one was to put in practice certain views with regard to colonisation; the other was to make money” (Sir W. Molesworth, speech on New Zealand Bill, 1852).

As English subjects were thus being carried to New Zealand from Great Britain, and as from Australia a stream of colonisation had previously set in, Her Majesty's Ministers were driven to adopt the only effectual measures for establishing in these islands a settled form of government. Captain Hobson, who had been officially sent to New Zealand and had made a very able report, was appointed to undertake the

negotiations. The meeting called by him was held at Waitangi, and there, under the most solemn promises that their titles to their lands should be secured to them by the Crown, the famous treaty was signed by the native chiefs, by which the Britain of the South became incorporated in the empire. Great fears were expressed by the chiefs present at the meeting that in ceding sovereignty they would be held as giving up their lands. The project was nearly defeated. Many leading men wavered. At last Tamati Waka rose. To him, equally renowned in the field and the council, the assembly listened attentively. He spoke with great earnestness and ability. When he had concluded he turned to Captain Hobson, and with pathetic confidence said, "You must be our father. You must not allow us to become slaves. You must preserve our customs, and never permit our lands to be wrested from us." Tamati Waka's speech was decisive; the treaty was signed, the aid of the missionaries of the different churches was invoked, and many other influential chiefs not present at Waitangi joined in the movement. But the same promise was always exacted and was always made. The Maori was to be guaranteed, on the faith of England, all his rights in the lands of his fathers. On the 6th of February, the first forty-six signatures were appended to the treaty. At that time the first settlers of the Company at Port Nicholson, who had been landed at Petone some sixteen days before, were wondering where they were to get the land for which they had paid before leaving England. On the 21st May the sovereignty of the Queen was proclaimed, and the 16th of November created New Zealand a separate colony. So great was the influence which the New Zealand Company had by this time acquired that when the colony was declared independent of New South Wales Lord John

Russell formally recognised it, and made arrangements with its directors in order that the colonisation of New Zealand should be carried on conjointly by the Government of the colony and the Company.

The agitation for what was afterwards called "local government" commenced with the landing of the Company's settlers at Petone. They formed a government of their own, with courts and officers, and acted as if they were invested with the authority of the Crown. From the first it became evident that the agents and officers of the Company were determined to exercise sovereign rule. Their idea of constitutional and representative government was, and always has been, continuing until the present time, that New Zealand was made especially for them, that they had or ought to have the right to rule, to legislate for their own benefit, to acquire great estates in land as their own inheritance, and, under the name of constitutional or representative government, to use the public money, the public credit, and the public patronage for themselves and their friends. The same struggle is being maintained now as commenced between Captain Hobson and the Wakefields in 1840, continued between the Wakefields and Captain Fitzroy in 1843, and afterwards between Sir George Grey, aided by Bishop Selwyn and Sir William Martin on the one side, and Sir William Fox, Sir Charles Clifford, Dr. Featherston, Mr. Weld, and the whole host of land speculators and land jobbers who sided with them.

The immediate consequence of the Treaty of Waitangi was the creation of courts by the authority of Government, which, after due deliberation, declared that the pretended purchases of native land made by the Company were nearly all invalid. The Company at once set itself by its agents and members to destroy

the principle on which the Treaty of Waitangi was based, namely, the rights of the Maoris to their lands. Those rights were denied. They were assailed with ridicule. They were stated to be in antagonism to the rights of civilised humanity. No effort was spared to induce the Government of England to adopt this view, and although for some time these efforts were unavailing, at length, in 1844, they succeeded in obtaining a resolution from a Committee of the House of Commons, recommending the Crown to take possession of all lands not actually occupied by the natives; and in 1846, not only did Earl Grey deliberately set out his opinion to this effect in his despatch to the Governor, but in the Royal instructions, which accompanied the Act of 1846 and the Charter, provisions were made for registration of native lands, which, had they been carried into effect, would have absolutely despoiled the natives of the great bulk of their ancestral territories.

From its first existence, the Company commenced its work of colonisation openly in direct antagonism to the English Government. Its first detachment of settlers reached New Zealand and disembarked at Wellington on the 22nd of January, 1840.

These settlers had been allured by the prospects held out to them, and had paid large sums of money in London for the lands which they were to occupy in New Zealand. At the time of these sales the Company had no land, nor did it, until the period of its dissolution, ever place a solitary settler upon a single acre of land with a good title acquired by it from the natives. It sent a fleet with emigrants to Wellington, and it had no land there on which to place them. It then located them at the Hutt and other places upon disputed lands, which led to a long series of sanguinary conflicts and murders. It

despatched a large party to Nelson, and its efforts there to take the lands of the natives by force ended in the conflict in Wairau, where, after a smart skirmish, in which our people were defeated, the prisoners taken by the Maoris were killed by one of Rangihātea's natives, the chief being maddened by the death of his wife, the favourite daughter of Te Rauparaha. It attempted to locate a body of settlers at Wanganui; but there also it had no land. It sold the Chatham Islands, having no title or claim to them, to a German firm, and when threatened by the English Government with the loss of its charter for so doing, attempted to escape from the consequences of its own acts by evasion and falsehood. It covenanted to give employment to its settlers, if available land was not found for them, and when these men applied at Taranaki for this employment under what were called their "Embarkation Orders," its agent in his own words "endeavoured to evade the promise made by the Company, by sending the applicants for employment a long distance from home, making no allowance for time spent on the journey or for time lost in bad weather. The necessities of the men and their families were such as compelled them to submit for several weeks to these conditions, but many came home sick and claimed the promised medical aid; and others commenced *the trade of pig and sheep stealing*, not having yet had time to raise potatoes for themselves."*

It deceived Lord Stanley and attempted in vain to obtain his assent to its denial of the rights of the Maoris; and when Lord Howick, having become Earl Grey, was invested with authority in the Colonial Office, and another of its great champions, Mr. Hawes,

* See Appendix to Twelfth Report.

became Under Secretary in the same department, and its legal adviser and organ of communication with the Government, Mr. Charles Buller, became Judge-Advocate-General, it deceived the Government and the House in order to further its nefarious plans. Immense sums, upwards of £230,000, were placed at its disposal by the English Government, of which but a small proportion, less than £30,000, was, it is said, expended by it in emigration.* "A considerable sum was lent by the Company to its own shareholders and lost. Other large sums were laid out ostensibly in the purchase of private estates, but really to buy up troublesome claims for compensation, and further sums of considerable magnitude were appropriated by the directors of the Company amongst themselves on account of past fees."† Finally, taking advantage of a very favourable arrangement (under the Act of 1847) which had been made by Mr. Charles Buller, *who drafted the letters for the Colonial Office, and then drafted the letters for the Directors of the Company in reply*, which letters, on both sides, embodied the terms of the arrangement *which he had prepared*, it "surrendered its charter, and, as a colonising association, ended its career without having given a single legal title to a single individual of a single piece of land, leaving the whole of its engagements in respect of the disposal of land during a period of twelve years unfulfilled and uncompleted, and leaving the whole colony burdened with a debt of £268,000."‡

When an Imperial guarantee was sought for a loan of £200,000, which the Company agreed to take in

* Report on New Zealand Company's Debt Paper.—Sessions I. and II.

† See Lord Grey's speech on the second reading of the New Zealand Bill.

‡ "New Zealand and its Colonisation," p. 145, William Swainson.

full of all demands, it was stigmatised by men like Sir J. Trelawney as "nothing but hush-money, in order that all discussions about past transactions may be put an end to," while Sir James Graham regretted that it was no longer advisable to debate the questionable transactions of which this Company had been guilty. Its own settlers, overwhelmed by disappointment and woe, "afflicting the directors with their complaints of disappointment and ruin,"* thus addressed them while claiming compensation: "We address you not as supplicants for your bounty, not as men suing for favour at your hands, but as parties deeply and grievously injured by you, and as such demanding redress. And to what cause are the disasters which have befallen us attributable? You cannot and dare not deny that the immediate and proximate cause of our ruin has been the non-fulfilment by you of a contract formed with us seven years ago."†

Alarmed by these and other threats from the victims of their cupidity and selfishness, the directors took legal advice as to their liability. The counsel who advised, a member of their own company, and a man of character and standing, gave his opinion that the Company was not only liable for the original money paid by the settlers, with interest, but could also be made to pay compensation for all their losses. True to its character, the Company suppressed this opinion, obtained more favourable advice from a more pliable lawyer, but little known in his profession, and sent out this second opinion to the settlers, thereby entrapping these unhappy people into making compromises disadvantageous to themselves. Upon this

* Mr. Charles A. Buller to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

† Swainson's "New Zealand," p. 125.

it was charged before Parliament with deceiving its own New Zealand colonists by means of a deliberate suppression of the truth. So tortuous and disingenuous were the proceedings of this Company that Sir James Stephen, then permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, requested Lord John Russell, then principal Secretary of State in the department, "to relieve him from the duty of ever again receiving any of the directors of that body at any interview relating to their affairs."

This significant request, which showed clearly that Sir James Stephen feared to trust himself at an interview with unscrupulous men, was granted without hesitation by Lord John Russell.

Prior to the advent of Captain Grey the Company had ruined hundreds of settlers; brought about the massacre at the Wairau; it had harassed the gallant Captain Hobson to death, and driven Captain Fitzroy well-nigh into lunacy; it had deceived the English Government and a Committee of the House of Commons, and had commenced a civil war in New Zealand, which, but for the inflexible determination and great sagacity of Governor Grey, might have ended in the total extermination of the white population of these islands.

The report of the Committee of the House of Representatives of New Zealand upon the matter of the New Zealand Company's debt is most damaging. And with respect to the debt generally, resolutions were agreed to by both Houses to the effect that the charge on the land fund of the colony was an oppressive burden on its resources; that it appeared to have been created by Parliament in ignorance of the real facts, and to have been obtained by the New Zealand Company by means of the suppression of material circumstances, and that the colony was entitled to

obtain from the British Parliament a re-consideration of the case.

Prior to the advent of Governor Fitzroy, who landed in Auckland on the 23rd of December, 1843, the native mind had become strongly excited by statements industriously promulgated, having reference to the determination of the English Parliament and the English Government, moved by the New Zealand Company, to deny the Treaty of Waitangi, and the rights of the Maoris to any lands upon which they had not bestowed labour and been at one time in personal occupation.

The fight and massacre at Wairau had destroyed the fear which had long existed in the minds of the Maoris regarding the superior prowess and warlike skill of the Europeans. On the 9th of July, 1844, Hone Heke, a son-in-law of the famous Hongi, as before stated, asserted the rights of the Maoris and their determination not to submit to spoliation, by cutting down the flagstaff at Kororareka, and the flag of England which it carried. In January, 1845, this was repeated, and on the 11th of March Kororareka was taken, the block-house burned, and all the English people driven away.

It has been stated that Hone Heke's war did not arise through the Maoris' fears about their land, but the concurrent testimony of all competent authorities affirms the fact.* Bishop Selwyn distinctly states it in his answer to Earl Grey. Even the chairman of the Company, when writing to the Secretary of State, speaking of the difficulties which the Company had to face, says: "These difficulties must, we think, be ascribed to one cause, namely, the disputes respecting the Company's title to land. This is the one thing that appears to have led to all the bad blood between

* Bishop Selwyn to Earl Grey, August 1st, 1848, "New Zealand Papers," Imperial Parliament, July, 1849, p. 37.

the natives and the settlers. It was the direct cause of the unhappy business at Cloudy Bay (the Wairau), and of the subsequent disastrous state of feeling." *

Indeed, it was only when the recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee before alluded to was communicated to the natives in the North that Hone Heke and his people rose to protect themselves against what they considered to be a gross intended violation of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Governor Fitzroy was recalled. The Company meanwhile made propositions to the Government in London, the knowledge of which tended still farther to alarm the natives. The position of affairs in New Zealand was the subject of a five days' debate in the House of Commons.

The Company continually desired the English Government to disregard the Treaty of Waitangi, and to confiscate the whole of the lands of New Zealand nominally to the Crown, but really for the benefit of the New Zealand Company. It had gone so far as to approach Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, urging upon him that the Treaty of Waitangi was simply a device for the purpose of amusing naked savages, and inducing them to behave in a friendly manner until the British power should be permanent in these islands.

With Lord Stanley the leaders of the Company met with no success. His reply to them, at once noble and dignified, stated that he, as Her Majesty's representative, held all treaties assented to by the Crown of England as solemn and deliberate transactions; that he should in no wise assent to the doctrine propounded to him that such treaties were merely devices to amuse naked savages, and that he held, on behalf

* Swainson's "New Zealand," p. 126.

of Her Majesty, that the Crown of England and the people of England were bound by their solemn obligations to the native people and chiefs of New Zealand.

The promoters and leaders of the Company were not to be rebuffed. No sooner had Lord Stanley quitted his position of authority in Downing-street than they repeated their attacks upon Earl Grey, who, as Lord Howick, had been interested in the formation of the Company. In Earl Grey, for a time, Mr. Wakefield and his coadjutors found a more willing listener. Under his auspices, and with his assistance, they obtained, in 1846, the passage of an Act through the English Parliament providing for a so-called Constitutional Government of New Zealand. Immediately subsequent to the passing of the Act it was transmitted with a long despatch from Earl Grey to the Governor, in which his lordship sets forth, with great circumstantiality, his belief that the Treaty of Waitangi cannot be held to be binding upon the British Government.

So strenuous were the efforts made by the Company to obtain complete control of the colony that it was believed by many that Captain Grey was about to be recalled, and an agent of the Company made Governor in his stead. In anticipation of such a step a public meeting was called, and held at Nelson, on the 30th January, 1847, the Honourable Constantine Dillon being chairman. The first resolution expressed the deep regret of the people at the reported removal of Captain Grey from the office of Governor. The second was thus worded: "That we view with feelings of alarm and regret the proposed delegation of the powers of Government to the New Zealand Company." Three other resolutions in the same direction were also carried, the last being: "That the twentieth report of the directors of the New Zealand Company lately

received, the letter of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield appended to it, and the report of the Committee upon that letter, are all characterised by a most extraordinary ignorance of the state of the colony, and of their own settlements in particular, by predictions of which the subsequent course of events has shown the absurdity in the most striking manner, and by the suggestion of a course of policy for the future based upon error—visionary and impracticable.”*

One of the former resolutions states the opinion of the meeting that “The administration of the affairs of this settlement (Nelson) by the New Zealand Company has convinced us of its incapacity, and destroyed all confidence on our part either in the wisdom of its measures or in the integrity of its conduct.” The speakers at this meeting represented the entire public feeling of the community. Besides the Hon. Constantine Dillon in the chair, Dr. Monro and Mr. David Monro, J.P.; Mr. Greenwood Mr. Fell, Mr. C. P. Withers, J.P., Mr. Seymour, Mr. Saxton, Dr. Renwick, Mr. Budge, Mr. Moore, Mr. Greaves, and Mr. Dartnell all spoke to different resolutions. Copies of the resolutions were sent by order of the meeting to the Governor, to Earl Grey, and to the Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company.

In Auckland at about the same time and while the Constitution was on the way, the people of Auckland signed an address to Captain Grey eulogising his efforts for the public good. Auckland and its people were bitterly opposed by the New Zealand Company. This address states: “When it was found that Auckland could not be deprived of its natural gifts, and that in spite of all attempts to retard its progress and destroy its very existence it still advanced steadily

* New Zealand Parliamentary Papers, Imperial Parliament, December, 1847, p. 10.

but slowly, and that when compared with the settlements of the Company which sought its extinction, it rose superior to them all, then the attempt is made to defame and malign its settlers, and no misstatements, however gross, no fabrications, however outrageous, are left untried to effect this purpose. . . . As an apology for the introduction of these remarks, and for praying your Excellency to represent our interests at Home, and disabuse Her Majesty's Government of any false impressions with regard to us as a community, we may mention that so entirely is the influential portion of the press in the mother country enlisted in advocating the cause of the New Zealand Company, that the friends of this settlement now in England have found themselves totally unable to cope with their more powerful opponents, and like ourselves have been obliged to sit down in patience, trusting in the power of truth and time eventually to obtain us justice." *

* Enclosure in Despatch, Governor Grey to Earl Grey, February 4th, 1847. Parl. Papers, June, 1847.

v.
CHAPTER XIV.

MAORI POLICY.—PROPOSED FEDERATION OF THE
PACIFIC ISLANDS.

“ The primal duties shine aloft like stars ;
The charities that soothe and heal and bless
Are scattered at the feet of man, like flowers.”
Wordsworth.

“ Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter, and then cease,
Till like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say ‘ Peace ! ’

“ ‘ Peace ! ’ And no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of war’s great organ shakes the skies,
But, beautiful as songs of the immortals,
The holy melodies of love arise.”

Longfellow.

THE records of New Zealand for some time after the end of Heke’s war exhibit the difficulties and dangers to which the early colonists were continually exposed. The native Chiefs, fearing the growing influence of the pakeha, and smarting under the rapacity of the earth hunger so constantly shown by Europeans, carried on a scattered and desultory war. But the Governor proved himself more than their equal. He utilised his forces in making military roads, and in this way gained easy access to many of the Maori strongholds. His plans in this respect were submitted to the Duke of Wellington, by whom they were highly approved. He swooped down like a hawk upon the great chief

Rauparaha at Porirua and carried him off in the *Driver* to Wellington, where the grim old chief was sent on board H.M. s. *Calliope* as a state prisoner. His swift strokes, falling like bolts from the clouds, paralysed the native warriors. Incidental outrages—sometimes murders—still happened, followed always by punishment. At length, in 1847, the colony for the first time felt the blessings of complete peace.

Other matters, however, called for attention besides war with the Maoris. In the interesting preface to his "*Polynesian Mythology*," Sir George Grey says:—"I soon perceived that I could neither successfully govern nor hope to conciliate a numerous and turbulent people with whose language, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought I was quite unacquainted. In order to redress their grievances and apply remedies which would neither wound their feelings nor militate against their prejudices, it was necessary that I should be able thoroughly to understand their complaints. And to win their confidence and regard, it was also requisite that I should be able at all times, and in all places, patiently to listen to the tales of their wrongs or sufferings, and, even if I could not assist them, to give them a kind reply, couched in such terms as would leave no doubt in their minds that I clearly understood and felt for them, and was really well disposed towards them."

"Although furnished with some very able interpreters, who gave me assistance of the most friendly nature, I soon found that even with their aid I could still only very imperfectly perform my duties. I could not at all times and in all places have an interpreter by my side; and then often when waylaid by some suitor, who had, perhaps, travelled on foot two or three hundred miles to lay before me the tale of his or her grievance, I was compelled to pass on without

listening, and to witness, with pain, an expression of sorrow and keenly disappointed hope cloud over features which the moment before were bright with gladness, that the opportunity, so anxiously looked for, had at length been secured.

“Again I found that any tale of sorrow or suffering, passing through the medium of an interpreter, fell much more coldly on my ear than it would have done had the person interested addressed the tale direct to myself; and in like manner an answer delivered through the intervention of a third person appeared to have a very different impression upon the suitor to what it would have had coming direct from the lips of the Governor of the country. Moreover, this mode of communication through a third person was so cumbersome and slow, that, in order to compensate for the loss of time thus occasioned, it became necessary for the interpreters to compress the substance of the representations made to me, as also of my own replies, into the fewest words possible; and as this had in each instance to be done hurriedly and at the moment, there was reason to fear that much that was material to enable me fully to understand the question brought before me, or the suitor to comprehend my reply, might be unintentionally omitted.

“Lastly, I had on several occasions reasons to believe that a native hesitated to state facts, or to express feelings and wishes to an interpreter which he would most gladly have done to the Governor, could he have addressed him direct.

“These reasons and others of equal force made me feel it to be my duty to make myself acquainted, with the least possible delay, with the language of the New Zealanders, as also with their manners, customs, and prejudices. But I soon found that this was a far more difficult matter than I had at first supposed. The

language of the New Zealanders is a very difficult one to understand thoroughly. There was then no dictionary of it published (unless a vocabulary can be so called); there were no books published in the language which would enable me to study its construction; it varied altogether in form from any of the ancient or modern languages that I knew, and my thoughts and time were so occupied with the cares of the government of a country then pressed upon by many difficulties and with a formidable rebellion raging in it, that I could find but very few hours to devote to the acquisition of an unwritten and difficult language. I, however, did my best, and cheerfully devoted all my spare moments to a task, the accomplishment of which was necessary to enable me to perform properly every duty to my country, and to the people I was appointed to govern."

Suddenly a new and unexpected difficulty presented itself to the Governor. The rebel chiefs were among the oldest and least civilized of the natives. In their speeches and letters they often quoted fragments of ancient poems and proverbs in support of their views and contentions. The interpreters were ignorant of their meaning, as were the young Christian natives. To a man of great determination this mystery commended itself as a question to be solved. The Governor set to work to acquaint himself with the customs, mythology, language, and traditions of the Maoris and their cognate races in the South Pacific. He had worked steadily on at this great task for several years, when Government House at Auckland was burnt to the ground, and all the fruits of his toils in this and in other subjects were consumed. Nothing daunted, he began it all once more. For six years he laboured indefatigably in the intervals of other duties, and at last, having mastered his subject, published

his "Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race."

From the first day of his arrival in the colony, Captain Grey became involved in contentions with European settlers on the question of the acquisition of native land. A long and bitter controversy ensued between the Governor and the majority of the old settlers and missionaries, which formed the text of despatches, enquiries, and commissions for several years. Then and since some of the missionaries declared that the information given to the Governor was false, and that there had been no complaints ever made by the Maoris against them or any of their number concerning the purchase of land. In addition to the abundant evidence given by Captain Grey in his despatches, an account published recently by the Rev. Mr. Colenso, of Napier, of the proceedings before Captain Hobson when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, proves conclusively that on that occasion several Maori chiefs accused missionaries then present of unfair and improper land transactions. Mr. Colenso speaks with authority, for he was present and made notes at the time, from which his book is written.

The first eighteen months of Captain Grey's administration were thus filled with arduous labours. The great events which have been alluded to did not prevent his attending to other duties. The interior administration of a young colony, with many settlements scattered far and wide, threw upon him great responsibilities, and constantly taxed his care and attention. The control of the Maoris when reduced to peaceable subjection demanded the most delicate treatment and his own personal supervision.

He perceived that the power of the chiefs must either be broken or enlisted on behalf of the Government, if the peaceable control of the islands was to

remain with the Europeans. Not only did he enrol young native chiefs in the constabulary, he also appointed the heads of the Maori tribes to be magistrates in their different districts, with fixed pay. •

Nor did he confine himself to general principles of action. The peculiar characteristics of individual chiefs, and the circumstances of different tribes, gave to him opportunities, which were never neglected, of strengthening his government. One great chief refused to allow roads to be made in his territory. To a young and favourite wife of this stubborn Maori the Governor presented a horse and carriage, at the same time conveying, with assurances of his friendship, the intimation that the use of the carriage would add both to the health and comfort of his dusky bride. Without hesitation the husband entered upon the making of roads which as a chief he had absolutely refused to sanction. To utilise the present made by the Governor and to please his young wife, the old Maori warrior made a passable road through country before inaccessible. •

He established schools, at which the sons of chiefs were to be educated, and made endowments for their support, which in many instances still exist. For the rapidly increasing European population he was anxious to provide all means, not only for safety, but for success and happiness as settlers. The powers conferred upon him were sufficient to enable a wise and vigorous policy of settlement to be established. Measures calculated to promote public prosperity were passed by him with the sanction of his Council. The law of England was in many respects, especially in regard to the holding and transfer of land, altered and simplified. •

In June, 1848, a great calamity happened which destroyed the fruits of years of Sir George Grey's

labour, and inflicted severe loss in many ways upon him. Government House at Auckland was destroyed by fire. Scarcely anything was saved from the flames. Manuscripts, correspondence, works of art, data of various sorts upon many subjects, compiled by himself, and by willing friends in all parts of the earth, were completely destroyed. In some instances things thus lost were of priceless value, because they could not be replaced. In others it meant the re-imposition of years of laborious toil.

Without hesitation and without delay Sir George Grey commenced afresh the works upon which he had been employed at the time of this disaster. Messages of sympathy and condolence were received by him from many quarters. The English Parliament expressed sympathy, and passed a money vote to replace the value of plate, furniture, etc., this being the Governor's own loss. Sir Everard Home, in writing upon this subject, uses the following words: "Owen (Professor Owen) considers the burning of your house, with the collections in Natural History, as a national loss." But it was from the humble native workmen whom he had employed in the Government quarries, and who had been instructed under his orders in skilled stone-work, that he received the most characteristic and, perhaps, most welcome sympathy of all. In the kindly feelings of their hearts they wrote proffering assistance. The letters translated ran thus:—

Auckland, June the 24th, 1848.

Friend, the Governor,—Salutations to you. Great is our love and sympathy to yourself and Mrs. Grey because your dwelling has been destroyed by fire. Had we been awake at the commencement of the fire we should have come to your aid, but we reached the place when the fire was in full vigour. Our object was to save your property. There are forty of us working at the barracks, and this is the love of us people at the barracks for you,

because you are the directing, upholding, controlling, or parent of all the people. Do you hearken? With yourself is the thought relative to our building a new house of stone for you, as we have been instructed in this good work, and we know how to perform it, as we have learnt the art of building. If you consent to this will you write to us, and we will talk to the chiefs about it.—From your loving children. Written by TE TARANU for the workmen of the barracks. Concluded to our father the Governor.

Auckland, June 24th, 1848.

Friend, the Governor,—Salutations to you. Great is our love to you. We have heard of your distress (or loss) by fire. Friend, this is the love of the people of the quarry to you. Friend, we are here pleased with you. We are willing (or anxious) that the stones of the quarry should be taken by you, so that a stone house may be built for you. It will not take many weeks to build it—perhaps one, perhaps two. This is our thought relative to the stones for you: but there must be no payment given us. This is a token of affection from the people of the quarry to our Governor. Enough.

In this year Captain Grey received from Her Majesty the distinction of the Order of the Bath. At his installation the esquires chosen by himself were his old friend Tamati Waka Nene and the great chief Te Puni, of Port Nicholson.

As may be judged by the past occurrences of his life, Governor Grey was strongly imbued with that religious feeling which has controlled many of the great men who have left England to found empires in distant lands. In New Zealand, as afterwards in South Africa, he was the friend, the protector, and adviser of the missionaries and ministers of all the Christian Churches.

The name of Bishop Selwyn is indelibly written in the early pages of New Zealand history. In 1842 he came to the colony as its first Bishop, and commenced his connection with New Zealand, being then thirty-

three years old, exactly the age of Captain Grey when he arrived in Auckland three years later as Governor.

George Augustus Selwyn and William Ewart Gladstone were schoolfellows in the same form at Eton, and there commenced a life-long friendship. Equal in literary power and scholastic attainments, the main contributors to their school magazine at a time when Eton flourished, they were the leaders of the leading school in England and the world. Together they roamed through the playing-fields, and together drove tandem to Sandhurst. The genius of Gladstone turned towards politics and learning; that of Selwyn to religion and athletics. Lacking, perhaps, something of the polish and erudite research which have since distinguished Gladstone, Selwyn excelled in all manly sports and in his bold defiance of wrong-doing and oppression.

When Captain Grey was appointed Governor of New Zealand, Mr. Gladstone wrote to him, using the highest terms of appreciation regarding the ability and "ardent piety" of Bishop Selwyn. The letter concludes thus:—"I must express my earnest hope that you may be able to obtain from him assistance, not perhaps the less valuable from the circumstance that he has been very careful (as I believe) to keep the Church aloof from politics, and it will increase my confidence and satisfaction in the transaction of business respecting the colony if I should find that there is a general concurrence of judgment, in relation to questions more or less falling within the provinces of both, between two persons whom I must esteem so highly, the one from experience and the other from reputation."

Mr. Gladstone's hopes were fully realised. The two young men, both animated by the loftiest ideas, became firm friends and allies. They were one in

their hatred of tyranny and love of justice, and both felt the most sincere interest in the real welfare of the Maoris as well as that of the European colonists. As we shall hereafter see, the Governor took counsel with the Bishop concerning the control and government of the natives, while the Church of England in New Zealand owed the original draft of its Constitution, not to Bishop Selwyn, but to Governor Grey.

The friendship of these two great men lasted until the death of Selwyn. In later days, each took the same interest as of old in the aims of former years. An extract from a letter written by the Bishop to Sir George Grey in 1863 expresses the stimulating advice and consolation which had so often cheered him in times past, when the struggle against wrongdoing and oppression seemed a very unequal and fruitless one :

“You may reflect,” he writes, “that after all the best use of time and pains, the life most fruitful in the cause of God and of human advancement, the best for man’s own nature, is that of upholding the right calmly and firmly against the selfishness, the impatience, and the ignorance of men.” The personal intimacy which existed between the Governor and the Bishop, founded upon mutual esteem and respect, continued undiminished until Sir George Grey returned to England at the end of 1853, while their friendship endured till Selwyn’s death. They traversed the North Island of New Zealand on foot together, from Wellington to Auckland, more than once. Together they scaled the mountains, and wended their way through the forests, swam dangerous rivers, became guests of the native chiefs, and influenced the tribes in the cause of Christianity and of loyalty to the Queen. Together they prosecuted scientific researches and discoursed in the solitude of

the Maori kaingas upon forms of Government, and the plans and aspirations of men in many ages for the happiness of their fellows.

Nor were their journeyings confined to the shores of New Zealand. As fellow-voyagers they traversed portions of the great Pacific, and visited many of those islands where, amid all the beauties of tropical nature, the most savage nations of the human family are found. To many tribes and races did Selwyn and Grey go forth as ambassadors—one the teacher of a pure and exalted faith to the benighted heathen, the other tendering the sovereignty, guidance, and protection of the mighty power of England to these savage peoples of the South. And beneath the tropical skies of the Southern Hemisphere, borne upon the long, sleepy waves of the Pacific, the kindred enthusiasm of their hearts pictured a future of peace, both spiritual and temporal, in those wide regions in which they had been sent to labour.

Like Heber in India, like Paul in Macedonia, like Augustine in Britain, Selwyn, in Australasia, looked forward with hope and joyous anticipation to the conversion of the heathen and the triumphs of the Cross. The aspirations which filled the heart and the mind of Grey had scarcely a prototype in recorded history. To his mind the future of the South Pacific presented a new possibility in the history of nations. The long recurrence of old-world wars and conflicts, the perennial harvests of ruin and death which had marked every page in the history of the far-off lands, might here be forgotten and unknown. It was, he believed, possible to exclude from these seas the intervention of any foreign Power, and the intrusion of any Government other than that of Britain. To unite the islands and the people of this great archipelago under the flag of England would probably

insure a continued state of peace and safety. The children of the kings and chiefs might be educated in New Zealand, and sent back to their island homes to rule their people wisely beneath the control of English law and English power. Thus civilisation would spread its humanising influence over these vast stretches of the mighty ocean. Christianity, taught and exemplified by noble and good men, such as the one beside him, would reform the character and enlighten the consciences of the islanders. Commerce with its ample blessings, would enrich not merely Australasia but Britain, and the din of warfare and the crash of arms would only be heard afar off, and with sounds as subdued as the wash of the ripple on the coral reefs.

The native races of large groups of Islands, including amongst others Tonga, Fiji, New Caledonia, Tahiti, and the Loyalty Islands were willing and anxious to come under the English flag. They agreed to receive officers appointed by Great Britain who should collect customs duties on a common tariff with New Zealand. These duties were to be applied to the payment of salaries for the officials needed, and to the maintenance of other necessary but modest Government establishments. The principal chiefs of the islands had become Grey's personal friends, and many of their children were being educated in New Zealand.

The New Zealand chiefs were delighted with these arrangements. They willingly gave endowments of land for hospitals and schools for the benefit of the children of the people of the islands. In Auckland, Parnell, the North Shore, Three Kings, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Hawke's Bay, Wanganui, and other places such endowments were set apart.

The hopes of both Selwyn and Grey were destined

to be unfulfilled. The innate savagery of the native character, the evil example of many of the traders frequenting those seas, and the entrance of French and German influence, always bitterly opposed to British missionary effort, defeated the plans of Selwyn. Grey's imperial views met with no favour and scant courtesy in London. Downing Street, with its usual incapacity and narrowness of view, scoffed at the idea of an island empire in the Southern Ocean, and allowed France, Germany, and Spain to get a footing there, which is now a continual cause of alarm—a perpetual source of disquiet. They looked upon Sir George Grey's plans as dreams—beautiful indeed, but fantastic, impracticable, and useless. It is of such dreams great histories are born; but to the Colonial Office such dreams as these were distasteful, and those who dreamed them were madmen.

The course of history has compelled England to carry out some of those plans, while the neglect to adopt them all has caused bitter regret. Napoleon, taking advantage of his position in regard to Russia, obtained possession of New Caledonia; and the Foreign Office and Colonial Office gave orders that he should not be interfered with.

Although the Imperial Government, with a blindness and want of foresight difficult to comprehend, had placed its veto upon the plans which Sir George Grey proposed, and which he had practically carried into effect, in relation to the annexation and government of the islands of the South Pacific, he never ceased to represent to the Colonial Office and to the Secretary for War the perils which must menace the British Empire in Australasia from the presence in those latitudes of settlements belonging to other European nations. He could not understand the denseness and stupidity which enabled Downing Street to treat such

vital questions with indifference and with contempt. His sense of duty compelled him again and again to direct the attention of Her Majesty's ministers to what he considered imminent dangers to the growing colonies of Australasia, and it was one of the charges against him in the official mind, reserved for the day of retribution, that, despite the ridicule of the Colonial Office and its positive opposition, Grey had continually directed attention to the necessity which existed for preserving the peace of the Southern seas and the security of the Southern colonies.

He fired his final shot in this warfare only a fortnight before leaving New Zealand. In a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated from Auckland, December 15th, 1853, he stated that information had been received a few days previously from the Isle of Pines that some French men-of-war had taken possession of that island and also of New Caledonia, hoisting the French flag and establishing depôts for war steamers. He then pointed out that owing to the excellence of the harbours in these islands, and from their commanding position in regard to the colonies—lying directly in the line of communication between Australia and America, commanding in great measure the routes from Australia to Great Britain, and from New Zealand to India—their occupation by the French would prove very harassing to British trade and to the colonies. He asserted that it would be impossible to find any other points in this part of the world which would enable France, in the event of war, so effectually to embarrass our commerce and distress our colonies; and that, as she had no colonial trade to protect, it was probable that the French were pursuing a line of policy founded upon the advantages mentioned above. Sir George communicated also with the senior naval officer on the Australian station,

acquainting him with these facts, and pointing out the claims of Britain to the possession of the islands.

All his efforts were in vain. The occupation by France and Germany of points of vantage in the Southern Archipelago has already caused disastrous consequences, and may yet provoke a European war or detach the Australasian colonies from the British Empire.

It so happened that Sir George Grey was in New Caledonia three days after the French had taken possession. He remonstrated with the French commander, who replied that his orders were specific, and he was acting in obedience thereto. Ultimately, in deference to Sir George Grey's position and strongly expressed wishes, the French officer consented to erect no buildings and to incur no large expenditure of money until a reference had been made to London and Paris, and a final decision arrived at between the two Governments. This was done, but, as Sir George Grey feared, without avail. Napoleon, confident in the hold which he had obtained upon English sympathy by his alliance with England against Russia, was pertinacious in the matter of New Caledonia, and that great island, with its smaller dependencies, finally passed under French rule.

CHAPTER XV.

NEW ZEALAND CONSTITUTION OF 1846.

"Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the law."
Goldsmith.

IN the midst of these great labours and incessant toils, Governor Grey received a despatch from Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, enclosing the Constitution for New Zealand, which had been passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1846. Lord Grey's despatch covered three documents:—1. The New Zealand Government Act, 1846. 2. Charter of 1846. 3. Royal Instructions of 1846.

Taken altogether, these provided as follows:—1. New Zealand was to be divided into two provinces—New Ulster and New Munster—having a Lieutenant-Governor and Provincial Assembly over each. 2. Each Provincial Assembly was to consist of two chambers—one composed of representatives, the other, the council, composed of persons directly nominated *by the Crown*. 3. The representatives were not to be immediately chosen by the people, but elected by the Mayors, aldermen, and common councils of the municipal bodies which were to be created throughout the country. 4. To elect the municipal bodies who were thus to elect the Houses of Representatives, those only were eligible who (i.) had been holders of any tenement in the municipalities for six

months prior to each 1st January; (ii.) subjects of the British Crown; (iii.) of good fame and character, and not paupers; (iv.) whose rates were paid or not more than six months in arrears; and (v.) *who could read and write English.* 5. For the whole colony a General Assembly was to be appointed, to consist of the Governor-in-Chief, Legislative Council (directly appointed by the Crown), and House of Representatives (to be appointed by Provincial Houses from among their own members). 6. In each of the two provinces, and in the whole colony, a civil list, controlled directly from Downing Street, was provided for, the salaries for which and the appointments to which were entirely independent of the Provincial or General Assemblies. 7. Native land registries were to be opened in the different districts, and all lands not registered as native lands by officers appointed, *not by the natives, but by the Government*, were to be deemed waste lands of the Crown, and this would include all lands claimed by natives save those actually used and occupied by them. "by means of labour expended thereon." 8. The dissolution of the Assemblies included Councils, so that the Governor could get rid of obnoxious members even of the nominated bodies.

This so-called Representation Act was in reality a cast-iron frame of political bondage from which the people of New Zealand could not have escaped without the consent of the Company, which never would have been given.

The total number of persons who would have been qualified to vote for the mayors, aldermen, and councils of the different municipalities would have amounted to only a few hundreds, and the great majority of votes would have been cast in the interest of the Company. All natives were at once shut out from having any voice in the government of the

country, the disposal of their own lands and the revenues derived from their taxation. So were all foreigners, and the vast majority of those settlers who, like the pensioners, though of English, Irish, and Scotch birth, were uneducated, and therefore unable to read and write English, their mother tongue. No power of alteration existed save in the Imperial Parliament.

Under the Act, Charter, and Instructions, the inhabitants of New Zealand would have been utterly powerless to direct their own affairs or to control their own destiny. The Governor and Lieutenant-Governors were to be appointed directly by the Crown—that is, by the Secretary for the Colonies for the time being. The Council for the General Assembly and both Provincial Councils were also to be nominated from Downing Street; while the pretended representative institutions were a mockery and delusion. There was not, nor ever could there be, any direct representation of the people. The power to make laws, to levy taxes, to expend public moneys, to dispose of the public lands, and to bestow public patronage, would have remained for ever nominally with the English Government, in reality with the directors and agents of the New Zealand Company.

Not only were the Europeans disturbed by the proposals contained in the Imperial legislation; the friendly native chiefs were seriously alarmed. The Governor was continually receiving questions from them as to the meaning of the rumours which were freely circulated among them, and as to the real intentions of the English Government.

The native chiefs did not limit their anxiety to making inquiries of the Governor, but sent petitions also to the Queen, which ultimately, in May, 1848, produced an answer to Te Wherowhero and the other

chiefs solemnly disclaiming on the part of the Queen any intention or desire to violate the Treaty of Waitangi. The Wesleyan Missionary Society also, in a long and elaborate memorandum, prayed that all doubts regarding this question might be set at rest, as the honour of their missionaries, who had aided largely in obtaining the assent of many chiefs to the treaty, was at stake.*

Earl Grey's despatch itself closed somewhat ominously. A shadow of distrust passed over the heart of the Secretary for the Colonies. He saw that the granting of this Constitution would be attended with at least one serious danger:—"It is the danger that the powers conferred by this great franchise on the representatives of the people may be perverted into an instrument for the oppression of the less civilised and less powerful races of men inhabiting the same colony. . . . Such a society exists, and consequently such a temptation will arise in New Zealand."

The receipt of this despatch and of the Act of Parliament and Orders-in-Council accompanying it brought the difficulties under which Captain Grey laboured to a head. He had always previously informed the natives that the Treaty of Waitangi would be respected by the Crown and by the English people. He was now called upon to enforce an Act of the Imperial Parliament which destroyed the rights of the natives in their lands, and practically abrogated the Treaty itself. He was the representative of the English Government and of the English Parliament which had brought this law into existence and commanded him to see to its administration. He was bound to obey the lawful commands of the Queen. He now found himself for the first time placed in this most difficult of all positions: either he must obey

* New Zealand Papers, Imp. Par., August, 1847, page 141.

the mandate of the Parliament and Crown of Great Britain, and in so doing break the solemn treaty made with the natives, and destroy for ever the reasonable hopes which the Maoris had founded upon the good faith of England and of Englishmen; or he must refuse to carry out the commands of his Sovereign and the law pronounced by the Parliament of his country.

With great anxiety he weighed the matter in his own mind before arriving at any decision. On the one hand it might be urged that he was not responsible; that if the Crown and Parliament were pleased after due deliberation to legislate in a certain way, that he was but a servant, bound to administer the law as declared by his superiors. On the other hand, he remembered that he was the agent and representative of a great monarchy; that through him promises had been made by the Queen and Parliament of England to the natives of New Zealand, and that even before he had set foot within the colony solemn treaties and engagements had been entered into, in which the good faith of England was involved, and which he, as the representative of the Crown, was bound to acknowledge, and that his promise of obedience extended only to the carrying out of lawful commands. If he fulfilled the immediate and positive duty imposed upon him he might be blameless, but the fair fame of England would be tarnished. If, on the other hand, he refused to put in force the Royal and Parliamentary mandate he might ruin his own prospects, but he would give time for reconsideration of the subject and the rise of wiser counsels.

Very grave and momentous local considerations also weighed upon the mind of the Governor before arriving at a decision. He was called upon suddenly to consider the position and probable conduct of the

native race should the Act of Parliament be carried into execution. The newspapers under the influence of the Company, both in Great Britain and the colony, had published the Royal instructions and the partial disavowal on the part of Her Majesty's Government of the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi. At that time we were engaged in a conflict with many great chiefs, and with large sections of the native tribes. Fighting under the standard of England were found many other great chiefs, and a large and powerful following of their people. With great loyalty and persistent honour, Tamati Waka Nene and his brothers had adhered to the Crown. The great reason which had animated Tamati Waka in his opposition to Hone Heke had been his disbelief in the statement made by Hone that the British Government was determined to take the land of the Maoris. "If I believed"—said Tamati Waka Nene—"if I believed, with you that the Queen intended to take our lands, I should be found fighting at your side. Because I do not believe it, I will fight against you to preserve order and to keep good faith with the Queen."

They had acquiesced in the dictum of Captain Grey that they should not receive, as they had been promised, the lands of the rebel natives confiscated in war. They had voluntarily shared with Hone Heke for public purposes presents of money made to them by the Government, in order to convince the rebel natives that they were not actuated by the desire of gain. Captain Grey had stood side by side with these men upon the field of battle. At the final struggle of Ruapekapeka, where Hone Heke's *mana* and influence were destroyed, some of their chiefs had been killed and others wounded. Tamati Waka's brother William had been there shot through the

body. While lying wounded on the ground he asked the Governor whether his wound was fatal. Then, taking the Governor by the hand, he asked him whether in his opinion he (Wi Waka) had done his duty to the Queen. The Governor, in answer, said that he had proved himself to be a brave and gallant soldier and a true man. Then the Maori, addressing the chiefs who surrounded him, said that after the words of the Governor it mattered little to him whether he lived or died.

At the Council of Chiefs at Wangahui, nearly all the great leaders of the North had given their promise to support the Government, and named the number of men that they would bring into the field. When each chief had finished his statement he left the room, until at last Captain Grey was left alone with Te Wherowhero, many years afterwards Potatau, the first Maori king. When no ear was there to listen, Te Wherowhero said, "Oh, Governor, you have this day disgraced me before the chiefs of New Zealand. I am the greatest chief of the North Island. All these who have spoken to-day acknowledge my supremacy. You have received promises from them of great numbers of warriors. I have but one man whom you brought with me from my tribe. But though I am not able to lead a great *haua* (war-party) to the field, yet to show my faith to you and loyalty to the Queen, I will serve as a private warrior under one of these other chiefs."

The Governor had received innumerable instances of self-denial, devotion, and confidence from both chiefs and people, and he was now asked, or rather commanded to tell them that all the promises which had been made for years were to be broken, and they and their children were to be despoiled of the heritage which had been assured to them as the condition

of their allegiance by the Treaty of Waitangi. Not only was the Governor oppressed by this feeling of ingratitude and breach of faith, but he was bound to recognise the danger of such a proceeding to the European inhabitants of the colony. Twenty thousand Europeans, men, women, and children, were scattered far and wide in many settlements without means of communication or possibility of concerted measures of defence, everywhere surrounded by savage tribes, prompt in action, fearless in battle, unsparing in revenge. A few soldiers unused to Maori warfare, a few men capable of bearing arms but mostly untrained to military service, were all on which he could have depended against a combined onslaught by the Maoris. The probabilities were all in favour of a war of extermination arising should the provisions of the Act of Parliament and the Royal instructions be carried into effect. Within three months it was not only possible, but probable, that, save in one or two fortified places, no white people would have been left alive in these islands.

Still further and most important considerations weighed upon his mind and influenced him very greatly. Captain Grey had conceived the belief that the period in which he had been called to administer the affairs of South Australia and New Zealand was the turning point in the history of the colonial policy of Great Britain. Foreseeing the vast extent of populated territory which would hereafter be subject to the Crown of England, contemplating as though already in existence the "unborn millions" of God's creatures, and of his own race, who were destined, in the mighty colonial empire, to change or modify the history of the world, he was determined that in all constitutions or charters of government given to any one or more of these, so far as his ability allowed,

those constitutions should be as perfect and free as the mind of man could make them. He knew how difficult it would be, if a faulty constitution were once brought into existence, to amend or to alter it.

The charter which had been granted to New Zealand was not, in his opinion, a charter for the people, but a charter simply for speculators, for the hungerers after land, and the shipowners desiring freights and passengers, who helped so largely to form the New Zealand Company, and he believed it would perpetuate in this new land the worst abuses of the feudal system. He at once perceived that to bring this new Constitution with all its imperfections and proposed tyrannies into existence would in no sense give the power of self-government to the people of New Zealand, either of the few thousands already in the colony or of the millions who were destined to occupy it hereafter. During his ten years of official life he had become convinced that the Colonial Office was so little criticised or controlled by public opinion that every Minister of an hour was able to perform illegal acts without detection and without punishment. He did not know to what extent these personal illegalities might be carried. Holding extreme views upon the importance of the colonies to Britain and their probable influence upon the future welfare of the world, he had determined from the first to oppose every wrongful act where opposition was possible; for he saw that a day might come when, under some sudden pressure or political exigence, the integrity of the Empire might be impaired, and its existence threatened, without the consent of Parliament or people. He believed that the only hope for the Old World would be found in the New. And he dreaded the establishment in the colonies of those worn-out and effete institutions and class distinctions, and that

military rule, which threatened even yet the nations of Europe with universal destruction. To his mind the human regeneration of the world must come from the United States and the colonies of England. To him, therefore, the proposed Constitution was, in many respects, not only devoid of attraction, but absolutely repulsive.

Deeper than all, and more sacred and powerful in its force, was the sense of duty to himself and to his Maker. A sentiment of abhorrence to injustice, falsehood, and oppression made him shrink even at the command of Queen and Parliament (especially as he knew them to be misled), from the performance of an act which, while gratifying for the moment the clamour of powerful and unscrupulous opponents, would involve the disgrace of his country, the disappointment of the noblest hopes, and the suffering of many innocent and unoffending people.

There were at that time in New Zealand, besides Captain Grey, two men of more than ordinary greatness of character and capability of intellect, George Augustus Selwyn, the Bishop of New Zealand, and the Chief Justice, Sir William Martin. These gentlemen, equally with the Governor, felt outraged by the promulgation of the principles contained in Earl Grey's despatch, and were indignant at the attempted breach of faith contained in the Imperial Act and the Orders-in-Council. They made no secret of their opposition to the whole proceedings. The Chief Justice drew up a strong and indignant protest which was immediately forwarded to Her Majesty through the Colonial Office. The strongest of all grounds were taken in this remarkable letter of remonstrance. It consisted of three parts, which respectively urged—1. That Earl Grey's instructions involve a breach of the national faith of Great Britain. II. That Earl

Grey's instructions involve a breach of established law. III. A protest against the general doctrine put forth by Earl Grey as the principle upon which colonization should be henceforth conducted by Great Britain.

Perhaps no more vigorous and outspoken denunciations of a proposed wrongful Act intended by a great Power were ever penned than those which were transmitted by Bishop Selwyn to the Governor in 1847 and 1848. In 1847, Selwyn had joined with the Chief Justice in protesting against the propositions contained in Earl Grey's first despatch, and united with the Chief Justice and many others in pointing out the great and imminent dangers which would surround the Europeans in New Zealand if the Act and instructions were enforced. In answer to that protest, Earl Grey had transmitted a vigorous animadversion both upon its manner and the matter contained in it. On August 1st, 1848, Selwyn, in a long letter to Governor Grey, enclosing a copy of the pamphlet written by the Chief Justice, deals in a most masterly manner with the statements made by Earl Grey and the position taken up by the Imperial Government. The Bishop's letter is unanswerable. With plain and forcible logic he exposes the weakness and inconsistency of the case made out by the Secretary for the Colonies, and disproves, by historic quotations and the expressed opinions of the greatest jurists, living and dead, the statement made by Earl Grey as to the rights of savage tribes to their lands. He cites the history of colonization in America. Quoting the writings of Sully, Blackstone, and Kent, he shatters the weak and illogical deductions of Earl Grey, and destroys without hope of rehabilitation the arguments which the Earl had used in defence of his remarkable despatch. Without hurry or impatience, but with due

regard to the gravity of the occasion and the importance of the issues involved, the Governor weighed the arguments upon both sides with impartiality. A great trust had been committed to his care, and Lord Stanley had already forewarned him as to the responsibilities which would attach to his governorship of New Zealand. Neither had anticipated the exact form in which this responsibility would come. The issue showed that Lord Stanley had not miscalculated the courage of the young officer so suddenly promoted, and that the character of Captain Grey was equal to the task imposed upon it.

His resolution was soon taken. He determined to suspend the operation of the Act, and decided also in his own mind that if the Imperial Government persisted finally in introducing it they must seek some other agent than himself for that purpose. His refusal to obey the orders of ministers in London was not based upon the same grounds as animated the angry correspondence between Bishop Selwyn and Earl Grey, or the impressive remonstrance made by the Chief Justice. Jealous of the honour and reputation of his superiors, Governor Grey determined to see nothing in his instructions but that which was consistent with law and with the good faith of the Empire. He therefore answered Earl Grey as if no infraction of the Treaty of Waitangi had been intended, and he assumed that whatever might be the abstract reasoning in the noble Earl's letter as regards the rights of savage nations to their lands, this was not intended to refer to those lands of the natives which, under the Treaty of Waitangi, had been assured to the Maori tribes.* The other reasons upon which he justified his action were set forth

* Governor Grey to Earl Grey—May 3rd, 1847, New Zealand Papers, Imperial Parliament, December, 1847, pp. 42 to 46.

clearly in his answer to Lord Grey's despatch.* The principle which actuated him he declared in his memorandum in reply to a letter from Lord Lyttelton on his return to England in 1854. "When Parliament, from want of sufficient information, legislates wrongfully or unjustly for a distant nation subject to its laws, unless the high officers of the Empire will take the responsibility of delaying to act until they receive further instructions, the Empire cannot be held together. For the moment such an Act of Parliament arrived in the country, the people, hopeless of that redress which ought to be afforded to them, would break out into revolt: whilst, could they have hoped that their complaints would have been listened to before the law was enforced, they would have continued loyal and dutiful subjects. In declining, therefore, to break promises which I made as Her Majesty's representative, and in endeavouring to obtain a further consideration of the course which I felt certain Parliament had unadvisedly taken, . . . I feel that I did my duty as a faithful servant of my Queen and country, and will cheerfully undergo every risk and punishment which may follow from my having adopted that course." *

Happily as it ended, the danger to which Captain Grey exposed himself was of a nature to have overcome a mind of ordinary character and a courage of ordinary firmness. He was not only taking upon himself to bid defiance to the Queen and Parliament in a matter which had been solemnly discussed for weeks within the walls of St. Stephen's, but he was well aware that he was raising a host of enemies in all classes of the State who would pursue him with bitter and unrelenting hatred for the remainder of his life. He knew the characters, the power, and influence of

* Memo. by Sir George Grey, July 6th, 1854.

many of the persons whose path he thus crossed, and whose plans he deliberately frustrated.

As in the early days of his explorations, as amid the storms of disapprobation which he had been compelled to meet in South Australia, and as in after years, both in South Africa and in New Zealand, he steadfastly and silently faced insult, accusation, and injury, in what he believed to be the performance of his duty, so he now determined, at all cost and hazard, to pursue the straight path of righteousness and justice. He was confident that the truth was mighty and would prevail, and he was sustained not merely by his own conviction, but by the warm sympathy and vigorous aid of Bishop Selwyn and Sir William Martin.

So strong and convincing were the arguments and reasons adduced by the Governor, that the English Government immediately passed a Bill—not to impeach the Governor of New Zealand for contumacy, nor to dismiss him from the public employment because he had practically ignored the commands of the Parliament and the Crown, but to suspend its own Act for five years, during which period full power was given to the Governor to raise such a Constitution as he might deem proper in the interests of the mother country, and of both races in the colony of New Zealand.

This was the first, though not the last, time that Sir George Grey brought himself into direct collision with the Government of England and the Imperial Parliament. His disagreements with the Home Government had not always so complete a vindication, nor so happy a result; but it will be seen, as we proceed, that that opposition, whenever called into existence, sprang from the same lofty motives and the same intense determination to do right, whatever might be the consequences.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DESPATCH OF JULY, 1849.

“Beneath the rule of men entirely great
The pen is mightier than the sword.”

Lytton.

IN July, 1849, Sir George sent a long and elaborate statement of the history and condition of the colony to the Secretary of State. His communications from all the colonies to the Government in England were singularly clear and well ordered. They form in themselves histories of the progress of the communities committed to his care.

It would be manifestly impossible to give at length the full text of documents which fill volumes of printed reports, Parliamentary papers, and official correspondence. Ministers of the Crown never complained either of want of information or of prolixity. All that was required to give full information was supplied: nothing superabundant or trivial was intruded.

This despatch of July 9th, 1849, was indited for the purpose of fully informing the Colonial Office of the difficulties and possibilities presented to the Government of New Zealand. In its opening paragraphs the numbers of the European and native population were contrasted. Twenty thousand European settlers unarmed and unused to military service were scattered in places far removed from each other over islands

stretching through eight hundred miles of latitude. No roads or methods of communication except by sea existed. Such places were, in truth, separate colonies. Between and around the European settlements dwelt a bold and turbulent race, passionately addicted to war, and well armed, numbering one hundred and twenty thousand, a large proportion of whom were fighting men.

Peculiar difficulties existed in carrying on warlike operations against these tribes, while for the purpose of offensive warfare against Europeans, they could unite with overwhelming numbers, and secretly, at any given point. But the native character was susceptible of great improvement. The Maoris were ambitious for advancement, and intensely desirous to acquire wealth. Successful in war, even against the English troops, and alarmed by the evident determination of the European settlers to acquire their tribal lands, great difficulties existed in producing amicable relations between the two peoples.

The revenue had almost ceased, while public debts had been incurred, and the nicest care became necessary to prevent a war of races, which must have ended in signal disaster. Such a war would have entailed great loss. The Governor had to consider the wisest course to be pursued.

"Mercy, justice, and prudence all appeared, therefore, to point to delay as the general rule on which the Government should act. This line of policy has, therefore, been in all instances unswervingly pursued, and the result has quite equalled the anticipation that might reasonably have been formed, for whilst the rebellion which existed and the disturbances which naturally sprang from that rebellion, have in all instances been crushed, the total loss of all ranks sustained on our side, through so long a period of

time, has amounted to only twenty-eight killed and fifty-three wounded, and in so far as human judgment can form an estimate of such matters, no probability exists of any extensive rebellion ever hereafter breaking out in the country; and even should such disturbance again unhappily break out, our knowledge of the country is now so much more accurate, our alliances with the natives have become so much more numerous, our military roads have already been so far completed, the number of persons acquainted with the native language and customs so increased, and the natives' supplies of arms and ammunition have been so diminished, that we should enter on such a contest with infinitely greater advantages than we formerly possessed."

Sir George then proceeded to describe the measures he had taken in regard to the revenue to make the Government of New Zealand self-supporting, and the remedial legislation adopted in regard to land claims and disputes.

Passing on, then, to the active measures, he proceeded—"But little would, however, have been accomplished if the Government had confined itself simply to an attempt to remove the various evils under which these islands were labouring. It was necessary that active measures should at the same time be taken, without delay, for the amalgamation of the two races, that the confidence of the natives should be won, that they should be inspired with a taste for the comforts and conveniences of civilised life, that they should be led to abandon their old habits, that the chiefs should be induced to renounce their rights of declaring peace and war, and that the whole of the native race should be led to abandon their barbarous modes of deciding disputes and administering justice, and should be induced for the

future to resort to our Courts for the adjustment of their differences and the punishment of their offenders.

"To attain these ends the Resident Magistrates' Ordinance was passed, and mixed courts were constituted for the settlement of disputes betwixt natives. At the same time a considerable number of their young chiefs and most promising young men were enrolled in an armed police force, and thus habituated to act as actual administrators in the lowest offices of the law, and were made acquainted with the practical administration of the law in our inferior courts. This latter measure, at the time it was introduced, excited unbounded ridicule, yet probably no measure has been so totally successful in its results. The native armed police force has furnished gallant men who have led our skirmishing parties, and who have fallen like good soldiers in the discharge of their duty; and it has furnished intelligent, sober, and steady constables, whose services under various circumstances have been found of great utility."

The Governor then went on to describe the plans which he had adopted for the civilization and education of the native race,—and here he gave credit in no stinted degree to the different missionaries labouring in the colony. "Fortunately, the task of the Government in this respect has been an easy one. There existed in this country three missions, established by different Christian denominations, amongst whom there is, perhaps, an emulation as to which should do the greatest amount of good; and it may reasonably be doubted whether at any period of the world there has existed in one country, amongst so large a number of men who had devoted themselves to the holy calling of a missionary, so many persons who were eminently qualified by piety, ability, and zeal to discharge the functions of the office upon which

they had entered. The result has been that these gentlemen, scattered throughout the country, have exercised an influence without which all the measures adopted by the Government would have produced but little effect. Won by their teaching the natives have almost as an entire race embraced Christianity, and have abandoned the most revolting of their heathen customs. Instructed by their missionaries probably a greater proportion of the population than in any European country are able to read and write; and encouraged by the precept and example of the same gentlemen they have in all parts of the islands made considerable progress in the rougher branches of civilized life."

Entering still more at length into the questions under consideration he showed how, in the face of opposition from many quarters, and of difficulties which at first seemed insurmountable, the measures which had been adopted had proved themselves successful beyond his hopes. He closed the retrospect of the past with a forecast of the future, and outlined those plans for the government and security of the colony which afterwards found expression in the Constitution Act of 1852.

CHAPTER XVII.

LAND REGULATIONS AND CONSTITUTION OF 1852.

“That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”—*Abraham Lincoln.*

THE despatch which accompanied the Act suspending the Constitution gave to Sir George Grey the fullest powers, and threw upon him the gravest responsibilities. His discretion was left unfettered. “I am fully aware,” writes Earl Grey, “and much regret that the course which I have taken, both in introducing this measure and in the instructions which I have given upon it, imposes upon you a great amount of responsibility. It may be necessary for you to refuse to exercise to such an extent as the settlers may desire the powers which you will be known to possess of extending to them the advantages of representative government.”

The land laws in New Zealand and the disposition of the waste lands of the Crown exercised the mind of the Governor greatly. The Australian law as to the purchase of waste lands had been continued in New Zealand when that colony severed its connection with New South Wales. The Otago and Canterbury settlements had charters regulating the disposal of large areas of Crown lands granted to them. All land held by the Crown beyond the limits of the Canterbury

and Otago grants was subject to the ordinary Australian law.

To promote small settlements, Sir George Grey caused the Hundreds Ordinance to be passed, under which Crown lands could be proclaimed, and, being laid off in small and moderate allotments, made available for persons of limited means. The inhabitants of the hundred formed a municipal body. Wardens were to be elected by them, whose duties and powers were sufficiently comprehensive to afford an efficient system of local self-government to the community.

The Hundreds Ordinance was only brought into force in localities and districts by proclamation, which proclamation also extended to certain lands surrounding the hundred to such an extent in area as the Land Department deemed advisable. All other waste lands of the Crown were subject to depasturing licenses, which gave their holders a right to depasture sheep and cattle upon the Crown lands, but afforded no fixed tenure. Such licenses could be recalled on notice.

No fixed regulations had been made for the general management and sale of the waste lands of the Crown. One pound per acre was the nominal price of the fee simple of all such lands.

The Canterbury Association and the Free Church Settlement in Otago were established with a view to the endowment of the Church of England and the Free Church of Scotland respectively within the colony. The Free Church of Scotland had the right to appropriate ten shillings per acre of the price of Crown lands sold within a certain district of Otago; while in Canterbury the English Church was endowed by Act of the Imperial Parliament with power to levy one pound per acre on 2,500,000 acres of land in that province.

The following is Sir George Grey's own statement on this subject :—

“Early in the year 1851, I became alarmed at reports which reached me that it was contemplated by the members of the Canterbury Association to inflict a serious wrong upon the inhabitants of New Zealand in reference to the public lands of this colony. I feared from what I heard that a state church with vast endowments was about to be established in this country without the local Government or the inhabitants of New Zealand having received any information upon the subject, and without their wishes having been in any way ascertained.

“If this was done, it might take a long period of time before the public could free itself from an incubance of this kind, and the system under which this wrong act was to be perpetrated was one which was designedly contrived to throw difficulties in the way of the poor in their efforts to secure lands for themselves and their families.

“This system, moreover, secured to an absentee body and their agents in this country the means of disposing of the funds, obtained from the sale of public lands, almost at their pleasure, by removing from the control of the local Government and the people of this country (New Zealand) all power of interference regarding the salaries of the officers of the Land Department or of the agents of the Company. Indeed it was difficult to see how any form of free government could be established or exist in New Zealand while such powers over the most prolific source of revenue in the country could be exercised by a distant body of absentees, who would have had this vast fund at their disposal, subject only to what, in fact, were worthless limitations.

“Whilst I was thus alarmed by rumours which

seemed to indicate that undoubtedly what has been above mentioned was likely to be accomplished, although no intimation on the subject had reached me from Great Britain, the Resident Agent of the Canterbury Association waited upon me and read to me the draft of letter which, in so far as he understood, contained a recommendation to the noblemen and gentlemen who formed the Canterbury Association that they should apply to the Home Government and to Parliament for an extension of the block of 2,500,000 acres of land which was already, by Act of Parliament, made subject to the Regulations of the Canterbury Association, one of which was that no rural land should be sold for less than three pounds per acre. One-third of this purchase-money was, by arrangement, to be expended for Church and school purposes.

“Thus the arrangements existing with the Association in 1851 provided that a sum of £2,500,000 should be expended upon religious and educational purposes.

“Being asked to give my assent to the recommendations as contained in the letter, I declined to do so, and stated that I would, by all means in my power, oppose the carrying of such recommendations into effect. Accordingly, upon the meeting of the Legislative Council of New Zealand, in June, 1851 (of which Council I was by law constituted the President), I made a speech upon the 18th of that month, the intention of which was to make manifest my objections to the designs of the Canterbury Association and of the New Zealand Company. I also hoped that so strong, and, as I believed, so just an exposition of my views on this subject, would have the effect of detaching from the Canterbury Association influential friends of my own who had joined it.

“My great difficulty was that I appeared to have no objection to what was being done, for I represented the British Government, and that Government was aiding the Canterbury Association, although I was left in ignorance of the steps that they were taking.

“It was fortunate I adopted the course I did. At the very time I made this speech an Act of Parliament was being passed with the full assent of the British Government, upon the provisions of which I had not been consulted: Indeed I was quite ignorant of them. This Act provided as follows:—

“‘Sect. II. And if at any time during the continuance of the powers of the said Association, Her Majesty, her heirs or successors, shall authorize the Governor, for the time being, of the Colony of New Zealand, to grant under the Public Seal of the said colony any other waste lands in the said colony, or shall otherwise declare such declaration to be signified by writing under the hand of one of Her Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State, that any other lands therein situate shall be added to the lands comprised in the said settlement, all such lands shall thereupon become part and parcel of the said settlement; and the said Association shall thenceforth have over all such lands the same disposing, and all other powers and authorities, as they shall have over the lands then comprised in the said settlement, and all such lands shall be thereupon dealt with and disposed of by the said Association in the same manner and under the same restrictions, and considered in all respects as if the same had originally formed part of the settlement, and had been included in the provisions of the said recited Act and of this Act.’

“My speech was received by my friends in England and by some of them at once acted upon.”.

Towards the end of 1852 Sir George Grey received

the Constitution Act as it had passed the English Parliament. At this time the Canterbury Association was selling land at £3 per acre. The theory propounded by Mr. Wakefield of the "sufficient price" still prevailed. Land was made dear that labour might be made cheap. It became evident to Sir George Grey that an oppressive system of exclusion from the public lands was brought into operation in Canterbury, and might possibly be extended through the whole colony at the will of any Secretary of State in England who could be influenced by the selfish arguments of interested parties.

Accompanying the Constitution and Charter of 1852, Sir George Grey received a delegation of Her Majesty's powers to form regulations for the sale and disposal of the waste lands of the Crown in New Zealand. Instructions, imperative and distinct, were forwarded to him to frame such regulations without delay. The affairs of the New Zealand Company were finally wound up, and it became necessary that the Crown itself should take the management and disposal of its own lands.

And now the Governor found himself in possession of the power which he coveted to throw open the waste lands of the Crown to all the people, to destroy that monopoly which prevented men without capital from becoming freeholders, and to break down the oppressive system of Church establishments and Church endowments in New Zealand.

He did not fail to see that the effects of such blows would be felt far beyond the limits of these islands, but he rejoiced at the probability of a wide-spread reform, which might possibly reach to the most distant parts of the Empire.

With great care the Governor proceeded to frame the regulations. He reduced the price of public land

at one stroke from three pounds to ten shillings, and, in the case of inferior lands, five shillings per acre. All lands were divided into three classes—first, the hundreds; second, the rural proclaimed lands surrounding the hundreds; third, Crown lands unproclaimed. Rights of pasturage were conferred both within and without the hundreds on the inhabitants; and the rural lands surrounding the hundreds were to be divided into allotments of not less than eighty acres nor more than six hundred and forty acres in extent. These lands were to be sold by auction under fixed regulations. But where squatters who had held depasturing licenses were dispossessed, in order that their lands might be thrown open for settlement, such persons had the right to purchase an allotment at ten shillings or five shillings per acre according to value.

The unproclaimed Crown lands could be applied for under certain conditions, but when so applied for they were to come under the general provisions of the proclaimed rural lands. Wherever land was fit for agricultural settlement, the Hundreds Ordinance could be proclaimed, and such land be settled in accordance with its provisions.

These regulations were gazetted on the 14th of May, 1853. They raised a storm of disapprobation from that class which desired land speculation and not land settlement. During the eight months in which they were in force prior to Sir George Grey's departure from New Zealand, the small-farm settlements of Greytown, Masterton, and Cartertown, were successfully established; and in the province of Auckland lands were dealt with in the interests of the great body of the people.

Not only did the regulations themselves, properly interpreted, ensure the *bonâ-fide* settlement of the

lands, but Sir George intended, as a part of his plan, to impose a land-tax, to prevent the acquisition of large areas of unoccupied land. But he had no power to frame such an Act, and could but leave it with his recommendation to public men in New Zealand.

As soon as Sir George Grey's back was turned his intentions were frustrated and his wishes neglected. The Hundreds Ordinance was never brought into existence by proclamation; the Regulations were altered; the General Assembly gave over the control of the waste lands to the provincial bodies; and the provincial bodies framed such ordinances and regulations as enabled those in power to possess themselves of large portions of the public estate in different places. Dr. Featherstone did indeed propose a land tax to the Wellington Provincial Council, but it was not pushed.

It has been said that Sir George Grey's Regulations are responsible for the acquisition of the large estates which now exist in New Zealand. Satan can quote Scripture to prove his own case to be correct. Only in this distorted and untruthful sense is it possible to charge Sir George Grey's Regulations with the giving of large estates to speculators and monopolists.

The following is the account given by Sir George Grey himself of the motives which actuated him:—

“Parliament, acting on reports of Committees got up by the New Zealand Company, had identified itself fully with the system of selling land at such a price as to place it beyond the reach of the poor,—£3 per acre—and had established churches with enormous endowments, making the poor contribute as much as £1 per acre to the endowment of a Church which might be hateful to them. They then authorised the

Secretary of State to make a land law. He lawfully delegated his powers to me, and required me to issue a land law. I never sought these powers; but, being ordered to execute them, determined to do it in a way beneficial to my fellow-men. I, therefore, issued Regulations, and made a law, which gave to all a privilege from which they had been shut out, that is, of acquiring homes for themselves and their families such as had never been offered to them before.

“I raised a host of enemies who persecuted me through life; but I knew the true mind of the British Parliament. Both Houses of Parliament adopted my action, and tyrannical land laws were put an end to. It should be borne in mind that the New Zealand General Assembly which was to meet was not the Assembly I had intended. A nominated Upper House destroyed the glorious fabric which I had been privileged to frame.

“Having received my orders, and being endowed with powers which perhaps no single man had before exercised, I used them for the benefit of the poor of every European nation. And having thus done my duty, Australia was benefited as much as New Zealand.

“An opportunity had been given me of largely benefiting mankind. I accepted it. An end was put to closing the lands against the poor, and established churches, with numerous endowments, were got rid of. Because of the cruel system of land laws which prevailed being broken down in one part of the Empire, all other places would necessarily follow; and indeed they did.

“The British Parliament endorsed what I had done, thus showing that they did not wish to perpetuate injustice. My work being accomplished I

went forth to meet the enemies I knew I had to encounter."

During the five years for which period the English Government had suspended the operation of the Constitution Act, Sir George Grey proceeded to initiate reforms, all of which had for their object and their tendency the increase of the popular voice in the government of the country, and the steady extension of popular rule. During that period he was in constant though confidential communication with Earl Grey upon the terms of the new Constitution which he proposed to grant to this colony. Although desiring to give complete power into the hands of the people, Sir George Grey was at this time peculiarly fettered by the existence of contemporaneous facts.

In the early days of English colonization, when as yet there was no separate Secretary of State for the Colonies, various questions regarding colonial matters of importance both to Crown and people had from time to time arisen. To advise upon all such matters a body had been created within the Privy Council called "The Committee of Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations." To this Committee were relegated all important matters relating to the colonies. When, however, the colonial questions had become so grave as to necessitate the existence of a Minister responsible for their management, the functions of the Committee fell into disuse. The failure of the New Zealand Constitution in 1846, and the clamour arising in all the great dependencies of the Empire for constitutional and representative government, directed the attention of British statesmen to the existence and possible utility of the almost forgotten "Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations." Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New

Zealand, but especially Australia, were upon the eve of great constitutional changes. While in the great North American Dominion confederation of separate colonies then in existence seemed imminent, in the vast territory of Australia the breaking up of the great colony of New South Wales was almost an accomplished fact.

The six years from 1846 to 1852 formed the period of transition in which the power of government was practically transferred from Downing Street to the capital cities of the great colonies.

In 1848 Earl Grey revived the "Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations," and submitted to that Committee the consideration of the best mode of making constitutional changes in Australia. In reconstructing the Committee, to the members of the Board of Trade—who formed, in fact, the old Committee—were added Lord Campbell, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir James Stephen, formerly Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and Sir Edward Ryan. On the first of May, 1849, their report on the Australian Constitution was presented; they then proceeded further to consider the proposed Constitution for South Africa, and reported upon that on the 30th January, 1850. These reports form exhaustive and luminous dissertations upon the questions submitted, worthy of the great names appended to them, and sufficient to supply the historical foundations on which should be built up the political constitutions of free nations. It is worthy of remark that the New Zealand Constitution was not submitted to this Committee, nor was the question of Canada considered by it. The form of Government for New Zealand, as left perfect and complete by Earl Grey on his retirement from office in 1852, was the work of Sir George Grey, and to his correspondence and his

suggestions some of the best features of the Canadian Constitution owe their existence.

While, therefore, the Committee of the Privy Council was deliberating upon the form of representative constitutions to be granted to the Australian colonies, Sir George Grey felt himself bound by every sentiment of honour to Her Majesty's Government not to propose publicly any measure of government for New Zealand which might seem to extend the limit of popular power in these islands beyond that which the English Parliament was granting to the Australian colonies, lest dissatisfaction might there have been created at the superior advantages enjoyed by the colonists of New Zealand. In a despatch from the Governor to Earl Grey, dated August 30th, 1851, he clearly points out the position which he considered himself to hold, and the reasons which actuated him.*

"I judged, therefore, that it was my duty as an officer of a great empire, entrusted with high powers, not to attempt rashly to set up my judgment against the opinions of the majority of the great Council of that empire, and by legislating in a manner different from that which they thought proper to pursue in immediately neighbouring colonies, create perhaps great embarrassment and much discontent. But I thought it rather my duty in any ordinances which I might pass for the creation of local legislatures, to act, in as far as the circumstances of the country would permit, in perfect accord and harmony with the system which Parliament might pursue; and then, in reference to any other changes I might deem necessary, to make recommendations on the subject to your Lordship, in order that they

* Quotation from Constitution Act and Correspondence, pp. 34 and 35.

might be submitted for consideration of Parliament.

"In all proceedings, therefore, which I have taken in reference to the changes I have introduced into the Constitution of this country, I have held the two foregoing principles in view; although I have still so framed my measures as to make gradual advances towards what, in my own opinion, would be the most perfect form of Constitution which could be bestowed upon New Zealand."*

Sir John Pakington, who succeeded Earl Grey, found the heads of the Bill already prepared. The new Secretary for the Colonies immediately invited Mr. (now Sir William) Fox, then in England, to wait upon him at the Colonial Office, and to confer and advise with him upon the proposed Constitution. Mr. Fox gladly consented. And it must be presumed that it was upon Mr. Fox's advice that the perfect character of the Bill as left by Lord Grey was destroyed and its whole nature altered for the worse.

In preparing his recommendations for the government of New Zealand, which should form, as he fondly hoped, a constitutional model for the government of a free country, Sir George Grey had studied, with deep and eager interest, all forms of government which the world had seen. The latest development of a popular system—that of the United States—naturally claimed his closest attention. The weakness of that great confédération he foresaw fifteen years before the links in the chain broke under the pressure of the question of slavery. Sir George Grey recognised in the Constitution of the United States of America the fact that each state was free, sovereign, and independent, and that the only powers

* Despatch from Sir George Grey to the Right Honourable Earl Grey, August 30, 1851.

properly claimed by the Union were such as were given to it by the legislatures and popular voice of the component States. He saw, therefore, that if ever the Union should claim jurisdiction in a question in which jurisdiction had not been given to it by the voice of its members, either that disruption must follow, or the rule of force prevail and the weaker party submit to the compulsion of an armed power. He aimed, therefore, at achieving a different result by assuming a different position. He desired to grant a Constitution the provinces and provincial governments of which should not give (as in the case of America) power and authority to the Central Government, but should receive from the Central Government that jurisdiction and that legislative authority over certain matters which the central power thought proper to bestow. But seeing that the central power might from various causes desire to usurp authority over the inferior legislatures, he provided a safeguard in the appointment of a second chamber, the electoral colleges for which should be the Provincial Councils themselves. By this method the provinces and Provincial Councils would have been safe from aggression by the federal Government, because they would have been directly represented in the second chamber, which would therefore have guarded their privileges with greater jealousy; and yet a minority of the province could not have prevented advisable reforms. He had advocated the existence of legislatures of a single chamber in the Provincial Councils, and the bi-cameral system he proposed for the federal Government, giving to the second chamber the distinct and direct representation of the provincial assemblies. For the loss of this the colony has to thank Sir John Pakington and his adviser Mr. Fox. Their action has entailed upon New Zealand innumerable troubles,

including the abolition of the provinces, the profligate borrowing and expenditure of nearly £35,000,000, and the growth of a huge central civil service, located in Wellington, which dominates the country; as well as the extreme difficulty in carrying any measure for the extension of public liberty, for the levying of just taxation, and for the settlement of the people upon the land.

New Zealand was saddled with a debt of £268,000, in favour of the New Zealand Company, a claim which the Crown Commissioner on the Company's Board, Mr. Cowell, states was, in the first place, established "by gross frauds, concealments, and misrepresentations, practised chiefly on Earl Grey and Sir Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer."*

It was only Sir George Grey's loyalty to the Imperial Government and Parliament that prevented him from bringing his Constitution into force earlier. As far as he thought he could properly go, he went. Then, making recommendations for still further steps to Her Majesty's Ministers, he desired them to gain the credit and renown which would have followed the adoption of his wise counsels and the results of his matured judgment. During the debates in Parliament which resulted in the passage of the Constitution Act, it was admitted on every hand that the Constitution as proposed by Sir George Grey was the most liberal system of government in the empire.

Other great advantages were proposed by Sir George Grey, such as the creation of hundreds and boroughs, which were, unfortunately, never properly adopted, by reason of the ignorance or misapprehension as to their advantages which existed in the minds both of English and colonial legislatures, and through

* Mr. Cowell's letter, June 8th, 1854.

the selfishness of those who desired to use political power for their own advantage.

Doubts having been on many occasions suggested as to the authorship of the New Zealand Constitution proposed by Earl Grey, it may be well to summarise the whole of the evidence upon the subject which is to be found in the despatches, blue books, and public speeches of the parties concerned. The only claimant to the responsibility of having framed that Act is Sir George Grey. Not one of the many antagonists who opposed him in New Zealand and in London, nor all combined, assert that they framed this measure, that they developed its principles, or that they submitted it for the consideration of the Imperial Government.

It is difficult to understand how any doubt can be entertained on this question after the perusal of Sir George Grey's despatch to Earl Grey of August 30th, 1851.* Sir George Grey has never ceased to claim the original Constitution as his own work, his expression of ideas and of hopes for the self-government of a free people.

Earl Grey, having finally determined upon the form which the Bill should take, wrote in answer to the despatch of Sir George Grey just quoted :

"Sir,—I have to acknowledge your despatch, No. 121, of August 30th last, transmitting the Provincial Council Ordinance in the form in which it passed the Legislative Council, and explaining with great clearness and in much detail your views with respect to the system of government best adapted to the existing conditions of New Zealand. I have to thank you for the valuable information contained in this despatch.

"It has been of great service in preparing the

* New Zealand Constitution Act, together with correspondence, Wellington, 1853.

enclosed heads of a Bill which it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce into Parliament in the present session for the purpose of establishing the legislative institutions of New Zealand on a permanent footing."*

Before Earl Grey's Government could pass this Bill they were ousted from office. Sir John Pakington became Secretary for the Colonies in the new Ministry. As we have seen, the elective Council became a nominee body, and a debt of £268,000 in favour of the New Zealand Company was saddled upon the colony of New Zealand. How far Sir William Fox may be responsible for either or both of these it is impossible to say, but it is certain that the colonists of New Zealand had no opportunity of being heard on either of these points, and that great indignation was felt in the colony at the large debt with which it was burdened for the benefit of the New Zealand Company.

On the 1st of July, 1852, the Constitution Act as passed was transmitted by Sir John Pakington to Sir George Grey, with a despatch containing the following paragraph:—

"Her Majesty's Government have had abundant opportunities of recognising in the correspondence which has taken place on this subject between yourself and their predecessors your strong attachment to liberal institutions, and the able manner in which you and your Council have both prepared the way for their introduction, and urged upon the Imperial Government the necessity of speedily creating them as soon as the temporary difficulties which induced you at first to advise the suspension had passed away. They are, in fact, fully aware that the measure itself,

* Despatch from Earl Grey to Governor Sir George Grey, February, 1852.

now reduced into a law, owes its shape in a great degree to your valuable suggestions." * •

Thus Sir John Pakington, Secretary for the Colonies, adds his testimony to that of Earl Grey, the late Secretary, as to the authorship of the Constitution Act.

In the debate upon the second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone spoke of the measure as having been recommended by the Governor, Sir George Grey, and proceeded to eulogise the wisdom which had appealed to the American Constitution for an example of a Federal Upper Chamber elected from provincial assemblies. Mr. Gladstone spoke of this Act also as "an Act which conceded a larger measure of freedom than had hitherto been granted to the colonies."

While Sir George Grey was in confidential correspondence with Earl Grey upon the proposed Constitution, his lordship, who was deeply interested, wrote to the Governor, asking whether he had considered the method in force in the United States as to the election of the Second Federal Chamber, and, if he thought that plan advisable, whether it would not be wise for him to propose it formally to Her Majesty's Government as a proper provision for New Zealand. So great was the encouragement given by Earl Grey to the Governor upon this subject, and so evident his desire to afford all assistance towards framing the most liberal form of government, that it is difficult to limit the extent of participation in the final result which can fairly be credited to his lordship.

Sir F. Peel, Under-Secretary of State, speaking in reply to Mr. Adderley, when that gentleman attacked Sir George Grey, said "he was astonished to hear Sir

* Despatch from Sir John Pakington to Governor Sir George Grey, July 16, 1852.

George Grey represented as having been accustomed to exercise undivided rule, and become wedded to autocratic power, and as having consequently endeavoured to prevent the colonists of New Zealand from getting the benefit of free institutions. Was the honourable gentleman not aware that the Bill which was passed through Parliament to give them free institutions was framed, except in one particular, by Governor Grey himself, and that it was to him that the colonists were indebted for the Constitution which Parliament had granted them?" *

On Sir George Grey's arrival in England he received letters from Sir John Pakington and Lord Lyttelton, warning him of intended attacks in Parliament, while notice was given in the House of Commons by Mr. Adderley that he should bring before the House several points of complaint against the Governor of New Zealand. A part of Lord Lyttelton's letter is as follows :—

" I also feel it my duty to inform you that I have felt bound to give notice of my intention to bring under the notice of the House of Lords, on the 13th inst., the same points (generally) which Mr. Adderley recently brought before the House of Commons." †

In his reply, dated July 6th, 1854, Sir George Grey fully stated and answered the various charges brought against him. So triumphant was his vindication of himself, and so complete the answer given by the papers and despatches as known to the Colonial Office and Parliament, that Sir John Pakington withdrew his attack; Mr. Adderley's motion in the House of Commons failed to find a seconder; and Lord Lyttelton's in the House of Peers only drew from the Duke of Newcastle, among other refutations of the

* English "Hansard," June—July, 1854, p. 710.

† Letter from Lord Lyttelton to Sir George Grey, June, 1854.

charges against Sir George, the following statement:—

“It is somewhat hard to charge Sir George Grey with culpability in leaving the colonies at the time he did. What were the circumstances under which he asked for leave of absence? Seventeen years of colonial service he could show, out of which he had been in England three months only—thirteen years and a-half of continual service, during which he had never re-visited this country. He had left a mother in England, and he was desirous of coming home to see her, and for that purpose, and that alone, he applied for leave of absence. Sir George Grey knew that she was in an infirm state of health, and that every month was precious. He, nevertheless, fulfilled the duties I had imposed upon him. He remained twelve months to carry out the Constitution, in a manner which I confidently anticipate will be most advantageous. He remained to his own bitter cost. If he had come away earlier he would have attained his object. Sir George Grey arrived in England to hear before he landed, that that mother, whom he had come sixteen thousand miles to see, lay on her death-bed, and before he reached her residence she had departed this life; and is it not cruel he should be accused of coming home at an inopportune moment, when he remained and fulfilled all the duties imposed upon him, knowing he was running the risk of the sad event which occurred?”*

The New Zealand Constitution, left perfect as it was by Earl Grey, forms an epoch in the history of colonial government. The old system could never be restored; the new principles of liberty and representative government became fixed and immovable in

* English “Hansard.” Speech of the Duke of Newcastle, June 14th, 1854.

the relations between Britain and her colonies. It is for future history to say whether the conduct of Sir George Grey in delaying the establishment of such institutions until the most perfect form could be obtained was the course of wisdom, or whether he would have been wise and patriotic in hurrying on an imperfect scheme which might have pacified the clamours of the moment, but have utterly failed to accomplish the great ends which he had in view. The verdict of posterity must be in favour of that procedure which waited for the corn to ripen before the sickle of the reaper was used. Sir George Grey never attempted to argue upon questions of his own conduct in this matter. He was content to allow time to give its verdict, and in relation to the New Zealand Constitution, affecting as it does so largely the destinies of many great nations of the future, as in other incidents which have happened in the course of his life, his actions will be admired, his arguments approved, and his name venerated when his antagonists of an hour and his contemporary assailants are forgotten.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONSTITUTION FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

“Order is Heaven’s first law.”

Essay on Man.

IN 1850, busied with the preparation of the Constitution and the harassing cares of government, Sir George Grey was confined to his bed by sickness at Taranaki. He seized upon this brief period of involuntary relaxation to place in tangible shape an idea which had for some time exercised his mind.

A member of the Church of England, though unobtrusive and retiring in his membership as in his ordinary Christian character, it had been forced upon him that the position of that Church within the colony needed an organisation and a framework fitted for the altered circumstances of a new country. As, years afterwards, when in enforced idleness in England, he framed a Constitution for the local self-government of Ireland, so now—when for the moment laid aside from the performance of his ordinary duties—he framed the Constitution for the Church of England in New Zealand under which that Church now lives and acts, and which seems destined to supply the necessary powers and functions for a long and successful existence.

When Bishop Selwyn was finally leaving the colony in 1867, he delivered a farewell address in the Bruns-

wick Hall, in Auckland. For a quarter of a century, Selwyn had been identified with everything that was good and noble in the Southern Hemisphere. His apostolic labours had extended over regions more remote, and to congregations more varied, than those of the Apostle Paul. He was now returning under the order of his Mother Church, to end his days in the diocese of Lichfield.

It had been said that in framing her Constitution the New Zealand Church had departed from her allegiance to the Church of England, and that Selwyn himself might have some apprehension that his conduct would be severely commented upon, if not condemned. Upon these points the Bishop thus spoke:—

“I certainly have no fear in going to England. I go there simply as an obedient son of the Church of England, and the more so, perhaps, because it has been said that I was an advocate for the severance of the Church of New Zealand from the Mother Church—to make her entirely independent of the Mother Church. I desire to show no such feeling at all. I desire to carry an expression of your opinion that we, as a body of English Churchmen, are as united in feeling to the Mother Church as we should have been if we had remained in our native country. That we have not separated from her in any respect; that we have done everything we could to carry out the liturgy of the Church; and that we have not deviated in any respect from the doctrines of the Church of England. I would now say a few words with regard to the Synod and the Constitution. The speakers who have referred to that subject have mentioned me as the originator of that Constitution. I have the pleasure of saying to you all that there was something more touching in the origin of that Constitution than

persons are generally aware of. The first draft of the present Constitution was drawn by Sir George Grey on a sick-bed at Taranaki, and it was the fruit of those feelings which come upon the mind in sickness, when a man sets aside thoughts of government and the care of this world, and knows, as a Christian man, that he has something better to think of than the perishable things of this life. His Excellency has produced what has been of great spiritual benefit to the Church in this country, by giving them at least the outward framework, which is as necessary to inward spiritual life as the body of a man is necessary to contain his soul. And so far are we against setting ourselves against the authority of the Queen, that it was the Queen's own representative who drew out the first draft of the Constitution; and I believe I have now in his handwriting that upon which the Constitution is framed."

Though not mentioned in the Bishop's speech the original draft of the Constitution, when forwarded to him by Sir George Grey from Taranaki, was, with the letter enclosing it, the subject of deep and prayerful consideration. In reply, Selwyn, as the Bishop of New Zealand, finally stated "that" "we" "are" "prepared to adopt the proposed Church" "if it were deemed desirable by a large number of members of the Church of England within the colony."

Upon receipt of this answer the following letter:

"My Lord,—We the undersigned members of the branch of the Church of England existing in the New Zealand Islands, beg with great respect, to offer the following remarks for your Lordship's consideration.

"Upon reviewing our present position, we find that we form the most advanced and remote outpost of the Church of England. There have also devolved on us, in common with many of our countrymen, the important duties of aiding in the foundation of a

great nation, and in the moulding of its institutions. At the same time, there are in our immediate vicinity various heathen nations, and even in the midst of us are many native inhabitants of these islands who have not yet embraced the doctrines of Christianity. Moreover, we, the European members of the Church of England, have been collected from many countries, and are settled in widely detached localities; and thus although we are bound together by a common faith, and have common duties to perform, we are united by but few of the usual ties of long and familiar acquaintance, whilst there is no system of local organization which might tend to draw us together as members of the same Church.

"We, therefore, feel ourselves called, from circumstances and from our position, to vast responsibilities, and to the discharge of important duties, whilst we have many elements of weakness around and amongst us. From these causes it is our earnest conviction that a peculiar necessity exists for the speedy establishment of some system of Church government amongst us which, by assigning to each order in the Church its appropriate duties, might call forth the energies of all, and thus enable the whole body of the Church most efficiently to perform its functions. Even with such a system our efforts might at first be feeble, from want of numbers, and from our limited means, but yet we humbly trust that we should labour with such heart and earnestness as become those who desire in the planting here an efficient Church, which may, with God's blessing, promote His service, spread wide a knowledge of the Gospel, and secure the welfare of those vast numbers of our brethren who must hereafter occupy these islands.

"Actuated by these views and wishes, we beg to submit for your Lordship's consideration, and, we trust, for your approval, the outline of a proposed system of Church government, resembling in many points that which has been formed and proved so beneficial to our brethren in the Colonies. We should all be satisfied to see adopted the principle of the assembling of a general convention, the proposal of which would afford also a security for the ultimate establishment of a permanent system of Church government which may be found to be most in conformity with the wishes of the whole body of the branch of the Church of England existing in New Zealand.

"We have felt the less hesitation in submitting these our views to your Lordship, because we are aware that you have long been most anxious to see an efficient system of Church government established amongst us, and that this subject is one which has

not only always occupied your own earnest attention, but which you have on various occasions commended to the serious consideration of the members of our Church."

This letter was signed by many hundreds of the leading members of the Church of England in all parts of the colony, and was followed by the establishment of the Constitution of that Church as it now exists, the first general convention of which met shortly before the end of June, 1852.

This work did not end its course in New Zealand, nor were its good effects limited to that colony. The English Church in Canada and in Ireland has practically adopted its provisions. Thus the New World helps the Old.

Among Sir George Grey's visitors at this time when the Constitution of New Zealand and its Church were both being elaborated, and when the plans for the confederation of the islands of the Southern Ocean were yet existing, was Lord Robert Cecil, since then Marquis of Salisbury, the present Premier of England. Lord Robert was a schoolfellow at Eton with Lord Carnarvon, then finishing his University career, which Lord Robert Cecil had thrown up some time previously, having left Christ Church while Lord Carnarvon was still there.

An incisive writer and an earnest thinker, he and the Governor enjoyed many a walk by the seashore in Wellington while discussing the political and social phases of modern life, especially those which affected the future of the British Empire and the British people. When, seven years afterwards, Sir George Grey was recalled from South Africa, Lord Robert Cecil amply returned his hospitality and proved his friendship for his New Zealand host in many ways.

CHAPTER XIX.

KARATTIANA AND HAPUKU.

" Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast, no weakness or contempt,
Dispraise or blame, nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble."
Samson Agonistes.

IN all Sir George Grey's Governments it sometimes happened that funds were necessary for the public service which were not available from the Public Treasury. At such times Sir George Grey never hesitated to advance from his own private fortune the sums so required. On no occasion when this happened did he receive security or did he ask it. It was sufficient for him that the public service needed, not only his time and effort, but money also, to cause him to take immediate action. The first occurrence of this nature took place about 1853.

Between the provinces of Auckland and Wellington lie the fertile plains of Hawke's Bay. The lands of the South Island had been purchased for a trifling amount from the native tribes to whom they belonged; but the Maori inhabitants of the South were few in number, and utterly unable to occupy any considerable portion of the territory which they nominally owned. In the North the situation was entirely different. Especially was this difference shown in the district of Hawke's Bay. On the wide and rich plains

which lie between the Seventy-mile Bush and Napier large numbers of natives made their homes. The cultivations were numerous, the eel fisheries abundant. Fierce wars had been waged between many tribes for the possession of that territory, and wild legends are yet told in the scattered kaingas of the Maoris of conquest and defeat, followed always by cannibal feasts.

Many Europeans had settled amongst the natives in this region, and it became advisable, if not absolutely necessary, that the Crown should acquire large portions of that territory in order to give good titles to European settlers. But the natives were difficult to deal with. The majority of the chiefs were willing to cede a portion of their tribal estates, while the remainder stubbornly refused. Some of them commenced to sell to the Government. On this becoming known to the remainder, a public runanga, or council, was held, at which, after a stormy discussion, the natives fell into two parties.

The war of words was, as is usual with the Maoris, quickly followed by actual conflict. After some desultory fighting, a pitched battle took place, in which many were killed and wounded upon both sides. Many noted warriors fell. The great chief Hapuku was driven from the lower plains to Te Aute. Karaitiana, Tareha, Moananui and Renata Kawepo remained masters of all that rich alluvial region which surrounds Heretaunga.

It needed the skill and address of the Governor himself to complete the purchase of the land required by the Government. He met the chiefs assembled with their people. The lands to be sold were marked out upon maps, and the price to be paid was fixed at £7,000, which money was to be paid in cash. Here a difficulty arose. In the Treasury there was but

about £5,000 available for the purchase of these lands. The Government had no power to borrow save with the sanction of the Imperial authorities.

But Governor Grey was not to be deterred by an obstacle of this nature. He advanced the necessary balance from his own private moneys, on the understanding that he should be repaid from the proceeds of the lands when sold. Thus the full sum was paid over to the Maoris.

Of the money so advanced by the Governor, the greater part (£2,000) was not repaid to him until after his return to England. By his influence with the natives, and by his assistance in thus advancing the necessary funds a magnificent estate was secured for the colony.

After their war Karaitiana and Hapuku were sworn foes. Karaitiana became a member of the Assembly, representing the Maoris of that district; while Hapuku, sullen and morose, dwelt apart in his pah on the shores of the Te Aute Lake. Sometimes the old warrior visited Napier, but until within a few hours of his death he and Karaitiana never met as friends.

Twenty-five years after the decisive struggle between them, Sir George Grey, then Premier of New Zealand, received intimation that Hapuku was dying. The ceremonies preceding death had been performed. His tribe was gathered for the *tangi* (weeping) which should lament the passage of his spirit to the unknown land. Sir George Grey visiting Napier, sent for Karaitiana, and said that together they would proceed to the death-bed of Hapuku, so that before he died the two great chiefs and warriors might be reconciled. At first his request was refused, but in the end his persuasion prevailed, and travelling forty miles they arrived at Te Aute.

When the former Governor and Hapuku's old enemy, Karaitiana, entered the pah, wonder and astonishment filled the place, and loud cries of welcome resounded on every hand. They walked to the side of the dying chief, and there sat down. Hapuku, with wondering eyes, exclaimed, "O friend, how did you come here?" "I came," was the reply, "upon the wings of love, and have brought with me Karaitiana so that you may be friends once more before you leave this world."

While Sir George Grey (still to the Maoris "the Governor") spoke these words of affection and of peace to Hapuku, the hands of the two enemies were clasped together, and their deep emotion testified by the tears shed by both witnessed a final reconciliation. Hapuku died within a few hours, and Karaitiana only survived him for about twelve months.

CHAPTER XX.

GREY'S DEPARTURE FROM NEW ZEALAND—FEELINGS OF BOTH RACES.

“Hail, mighty chief and brave ! thy people stay !
While sadness veils our spirits ; go thy way !
Go hence, lamented by each circled throng,
Who now rehearse thy deeds in plaintive song.
Lo ! when the battle raged at Hōpe’s dell
Thy foes gave way, and famed Panui fell.
Proud Ahurei has said that he will fire
The tribes with zeal : but he may not aspire
To thy acknowledged greatness. No, the grave
Ere long will claim the youthful and the brave !
And, weakened thus, Te Pahi, with his band,
Will smite the remnant, and pass through the land.”

(Translation of one of the farewell addresses to Sir George Grey from Maori chiefs.)

At length the time arrived when Sir George Grey was to bid farewell to New Zealand. From all parts of the North Island rose the lamentations of the Maoris upon the departure of “their friend, the Governor.” Many deputations of native chiefs waited upon him. Of the first of these, Wi Maihi Rangikaheke was chosen to speak on behalf of the natives. The following account of the meeting is given by Mr. Davis :—“After sundry gesticulations and whispers among themselves as to how the performance was to be conducted, they broke out in full chorus, chanting the song with which the address opens. It was sung in a subdued tone, with great pathos, there being in

this mournful melody an absence of those wild shrieks so grating to the ears of Europeans. As the last words of the poetry died away, the Maori orator commenced the task allotted to him by reading the other portions of the address, which he executed in a masterly style. His movements were extremely graceful, and his emphasis good. While reading a certain clause in the address Rangikaheke broke off abruptly, took the mat that was thrown over his shoulder, and laid it at the Governor's feet; another was immediately placed with it by a native on the opposite side of the apartment, and while thus evincing their profound respect for the Governor, a deep silence pervaded the sorrowful throng, which was broken by the speaker resuming his oratory, and the whole was wound up by chanting the concluding song in the address.

"The exit of the deputation was as imposing as their entrance. They passed out of the room one by one, shaking hands with the Governor and bowing politely to him. Indeed, the whole affair is alike creditable to the intellect and affection of these inland chiefs."

•
TRANSLATION OF ADDRESS.

Go, while the sun is shining,
Great shelter of our land ;
Go, while the hearts are pining
Of this once savage band.

•

Go, while the winds are playing
In gusts above our head,
The while our hearts are saying,
"He's now to us as dead !"

Go, and before the morrow
Gaze on the deep, dark sea,
And then, these hearts in sorrow
Shall whisper, "Where is he ?"

THIS is our farewell address to you, oh, friend Governor Grey :--

The chiefs and people of New Zealand, especially those of Rotorua,* let you go forth bearing their love. Suppose not, oh, Governor, that this affection for you is merely an outside thing. No, it comes from the inward recesses of the heart.

We hoped that your heart would rest here with us. Now, hearken. When the missionaries came first to this land there was little industry, and little good was visible, but there was much indolence and much wickedness, and all lived in ignorance. Then God kindled His light, and, lo ! it became as day.

After this came Governor Hobson, and then a little fear† came over us. After him came Governor Fitzroy, and things went on in a similar way. But when you came, oh, Governor Grey, it was like the shock of an earthquake ; your fame rose to the centre of the island, and extended to the waves on the ocean's shore. You came with two lights, and these are they : The lamp of God, and the lamp of the world.‡

Your efforts on behalf of God's cause are the establishment of schools, the erection of houses of prayer—thus following in the footsteps of the Church. These are the things you did in regard to the body : Encouraged industry in the cultivation of the soil, pointed out the means of acquiring property, and raised this island to its present state of prosperity. You have done these things : You have taught us to shun evil, and pointed out the bad practices of this world so that we might cast them aside. You have been as one of the ministers of the churches, therefore we call you by these names :—The Peacemaker, the Honourable, the Friendly One, the Loving One, the Kind One, the Director, the Protector, the Far Famed One, the Lifter-up, and the Father.§

Although we heard of your projected departure, we thought, nevertheless, that you would stay. Both you and Bishop Selywn are going. New Zealand will thus be left without a parent.

* The inland tribes of Rotorua have become well known through the tourists to the famous Lake Rotorua.

† A slight yielding to the authority of Government.

‡ Two lights—the Holy Scriptures and the authority of the Queen of the British Empire.

§ The singular appellations used here are purely native ideas. Those who know this people will know also that they are in the habit of changing names owing to various circumstances which transpire in their history. Important events are thus recorded in a mere name.

Oh, cause the troubled wave to sleep,
 And silent keep the sea ;
 Nor let us hear its deafening roar
 Resound along the rocky shore,
 Till he* shall speak to me.

Till he shall speak in accents mild,
 And wave this tuft of green,†
 For Tangaroa‡ will hear his words,
 And Oi§ in the train of birds,
 Shall smile upon the scene.

After various complimentary allusions to his career, and snatches of savage poetry, the Maori orator concluded thus—

Go, then, thou great one, the pride of the people. On the day that the great one shall depart let him be escorted (by the tribes), and let his attendants bear him along to the tides of Matirau,|| and, Father, when they shall arrive at Waiariki,¶ return, return to us.

I see him not.

I see the foggy cloud above the mountains' height,
 That harbinger of summer's balmy morn,
 But see him not.

Haste, Tiki, with your guns,**
 Throw open wide your magazines,
 And pay the homage due to such a chief.

My son, evils in secret lurk,
 And friends are torn away by death or otherwise ;
 But the cause is neither seen nor known
 By those who weep their absence.

* The Governor is here represented as the Priest.

† The tuft of green is waved by the priest while he utters the prayer.

‡ Tangaroa—the God of the Sea.

§ Oi—sea-birds which congregate in vast numbers about the islets, and create quite a din with their croaking notes when the evening is calm.

|| The ocean is here meant.

¶ Waiariki here means Her Majesty the Queen of England.

** To fire a salute. This custom is not so common on the arrival of a distinguished visitor at a pah now as it used to be.

' Come near, my son, till I salute thee ;
 For thou wilt take thy walks in other climes,
 ' And robe thyself in richer garments than the Maoris wear.
 Bring forth the feathers of the Huia,
 That bird so prized that flits across the towering hills
 Of Tararu ; and bring the feathers of the Albatross,
 That bird that skims along the mountain wave ;
 Bring them to crown the brow of the loved one
 Going to the North to greet his fathers,
 And thus arrayed, sit at the entrance of thy dwelling,
 And look on scenes more dear perhaps to thee.
 My son, we fondly hoped that thou
 Wouldst tarry with us long to bless the thousands
 That attend thy footsteps with peace and plenty.

The sympathy thus exemplified was general among the whole of the Maoris. Songs, waiatas, and laments were composed without number and chanted at all the Maori kaingas from the North Cape to Wellington.

The feelings of the Europeans were more mingled. To many of the leading colonists, identified as they were with the New Zealand Company,—to those missionaries who had taken a place among the purchasers of native lands, and to those who were interested in acquiring such lands,—as well as to those who were intimately connected with the foundation of the great Episcopal settlement of Canterbury, many of Sir George's actions had been extremely distasteful, and they judged his conduct to have been inimical to their prosperity. They had, as many of them boasted, "Given Sir George Grey a lively time of it"; nor had they as yet forgotten the resolute action of the Governor in suspending the Constitution Act of 1846.

Yet there were many who regretted the departure of a just and resolute Governor, and who were convinced that dangers might arise under a less strong and powerful control, especially from the warlike native race by which they were surrounded. At the

end of 1853, nominally upon leave of absence, but, as it turned out, upon the termination of his first government of New Zealand, Sir George Grey sailed from Auckland.

During his residence in New Zealand, full as his hands were of duties imposed upon him by his position, and occupied as he was in those labours which he had voluntarily undertaken, Sir George Grey in no way neglected those scientific researches and learned studies to which he was passionately devoted. His correspondence during this period reveals a continuous stream of assistance and contribution to many seats of art and learning in different parts of the world.

From London, from Berlin, from Melbourne and Vienna, from Glasgow and Paris, acknowledgments were received of generous gifts and of useful contributions to scientific knowledge. Plants, fossils, specimens of all descriptions, compilations of great philological value made at immense cost of trouble and of time, poetry, mythology, history, politics, colonisation, and philosophy, were all laid under contribution.

The perusal of his correspondence at this period arouses a sentiment of wonder as to how, in the ordinary working hours of daily life, one mind and the energies of one man could, in such a vast diversity of circumstances and affairs, have accomplished what it is absolutely certain Sir George Grey did accomplish. All was done without ostentation, and with no assertion of self. Ever ready to acknowledge the merit of others, he oftentimes allowed to those who occupied subordinate positions the full credit of plans and actions which owed their principal worth and success to the activity of his own mental powers or the strength of his own will.

Sir George Grey found New Zealand in a position

of imminent peril: he left it in perfect safety. He came to it at the crisis of a savage war: he left it in profound peace. On his arrival from South Australia, it was bankrupt in finance; on his departure for England, it was solvent and flourishing. The native tribes which in 1845 had been in a state of rebellion, had not only been subdued by skill and arms, but had become willing and loyal servants of the Crown. They had learned the value of education, industry, and peace. A laudable spirit of emulation had been raised in their minds by the wise policy which he had pursued. His kindness and consideration had disarmed their hostility. The firmness of his rule had repressed their disorders. Had his policy been pursued, and the justice of his rule continued, in all human probability no native war would ever afterwards have been waged in New Zealand. Great numbers of natives had been trained to the skilful performance of public works. If continuous employment had been found for them, their minds would not have again turned to war.

The consequences of his government had been equally remarkable in regard to the Europeans. The scattered communities of intrepid and adventurous spirits had been reduced from a condition of lawless independence and antagonism into well-ordered portions of one state. Municipal organisations with extensive and beneficent powers had been established. A constitution, unsurpassed in freedom and elasticity, had been bestowed upon the people of New Zealand. The rude and turbulent bands, gathered from distant parts of the earth on the shores of these islands, had been formed into communal existence, and had become the first generation of a great nation. Out of incongruous materials, differing in race, in religion, and in colour—from war and poverty—the

skill, the courage, and the patience of Sir George Grey had constructed the framework of a mighty future. His hands had planted in the islands of the Britain of the South a seedling which may yet develop into one of the mightiest trees of the forest.

The one person whose judgment can be of value as to the influences which at this time determined the future history of New Zealand is without doubt Earl Grey. He alone of all the Colonial Secretaries, at the close of his connection with the Colonial Department, left upon record the history of what had been accomplished during his period of office, and the policy which had been pursued by him.

He thus writes: "It is to the Governor, Sir George Grey, that New Zealand is mainly indebted for the happy alteration in its condition and prospects. Nothing but the singular ability and judgment displayed by him during the whole of his administration, and especially in its commencement, could have averted a war between the European and native inhabitants of those islands. It would have been one of the same character with that which has been raging so long at the Cape of Good Hope, but still more arduous, since the New Zealanders would have been yet more formidable enemies than the Káfirs, and the scene of the contest so much more remote. The war, which had already begun when Sir George Grey reached New Zealand, and in which at that time all the advantage had been with our adversaries, would have been converted into a mortal struggle between the European and Maori races by the slightest error of judgment on his part, and by his failing to unite with the most cautious prudence equal firmness and decision. Such a struggle, once commenced, could hardly have been closed except by our abandonment of the islands in disgrace, or the extermination

of their aboriginal inhabitants. . . . Of the many remarkable proofs of the degree to which he has secured the affection and confidence of the natives, I will mention but two. When the Government House at Auckland had been destroyed by fire, a body of natives came forward with an entirely spontaneous offer of their unpaid labour to rebuild it; and, afterwards, when a report that he was to be recalled had been circulated by some of the white opponents of his Government, petitions to the Queen that he might be allowed to remain were signed by the natives, and it is a curious circumstance that the first signature to one of these petitions was that of the Chief Te Rauparaha, whom he had kept so long in confinement. Some of the letters written by chiefs to the Queen, expressing their earnest desire that he might not be removed, and the gratitude and affection they felt for him, are very interesting."

Indeed the only merit which Earl Grey claims for his Ministry in the wonderful manner in which New Zealand had been brought through the perilous crisis of 1845—52, was that they had supported Sir George Grey in the policy he had pursued, and co-operated with him to the utmost of their power.

"His previous administration of South Australia under difficulties of another kind, but hardly less formidable than those he had to encounter in New Zealand, and the justness of all his views with regard to the latter as explained in his despatches, entitled him to our unreserved confidence. This being the case I am persuaded that we adopted the only course likely to lead to a happy result in resolving to embarrass him by few positive and no minute instructions, but to leave it almost entirely to his own judgment to determine upon the measures to be taken by him, and to be guided mainly by his advice in what we were our-

selves called upon to do. This was the principle upon which we acted."

Earl Grey bore such high testimony to the great qualities of his namesake that he felt compelled to insert a paragraph disclaiming all personal or partial feeling.

"As I have expressed so strongly," says the noble Earl, "the admiration I feel for Sir George Grey, I ought, perhaps, to say that my opinion has not been influenced by any private feelings of partiality. Notwithstanding the name he bears, there is no relationship between Sir George Grey and myself, nor have I the advantage of any personal acquaintance with him. I never had the pleasure of seeing him, and know him only by his conduct and my correspondence with him in the public service."

During many years after this was written Sir George Grey has been pleased and honoured with the friendship of his distinguished namesake.

"In short," says Earl Grey, "the contrast between the state of things at the end of 1850 and that which the present Governor found existing on his arrival at the end of the year 1845, is so marked and so gratifying that it is difficult to believe that so great a change should have been accomplished in the short space of five years."

When the Constitution Act was suspended great powers were, as we have seen, given to Governor Grey.

"The authority thus entrusted to the Governor has been used with great discretion and advantage; he established subordinate provincial legislatures, and by passing various important and useful laws in furtherance of that general system of policy which I have described, he removed all obstacles to the establishment of representative Government in New

Zealand even before the five years for which it had been suspended had expired."

'The feelings with which Sir George Grey undertook the task confided to him are best described in his own words, taken from his memorandum of July 6th, 1854 :—

"Not only did I not hesitate when thus appealed to, to do my utmost to assist Lord Derby in such difficult circumstances, but stimulated by his language and by that of Sir Robert Peel, I have spent more than eight of the best years of my life in New Zealand without once asking for promotion or reward ; and I would not leave the country (as I originally determined when I went there) until I had fulfilled, even to minute details, every duty Earl Derby had called upon me to perform, and until I could leave a country, which Her Majesty had by his advice placed in my hands in a state of rebellion and ruin, in a condition of profound peace, and of great prosperity, with representative institutions in full and successful operation, and followed by the prayers and blessings of the great mass of its inhabitants."

Another valuable testimony to the wisdom of Sir George Grey's policy is given by Earl Grey in the following paragraph :—

"By means of the large grants which were voted upon these grounds for the service of New Zealand, the Governor was enabled to prosecute with vigour the various measures of improvement he had described as necessary, and among these were none which, both on civil and military grounds, he considered so important as the construction of roads. With reference to these, it is a remarkable circumstance, which I hope there can be no objection to my mentioning, that at the very time when Sir George Grey was writing from New Zealand to represent the absolute

necessity of roads with a view to military security, the great man,* whose recent loss the nation has had to deplore, was in this country expressing precisely the same opinion."†

It will be seen from the necessarily brief and imperfect history of Governor Grey's administration in New Zealand contained in the foregoing pages, that he relied less upon military force to subdue the Maoris than upon the civilising influences of wise and considerate legislation. When war was necessary, Sir George Grey did not shrink from the most severe and decisive action. This was clearly shown by his vigorous conduct of the struggle which was being waged when he arrived in the colony. But when recourse to arms could be avoided wisely and justly, nothing would induce the Governor to consent to bloodshed. His warm interest in the welfare of the Maoris, and his benevolent plans for their happiness had their due effect. Savage warriors, who had till then shown themselves rebellious and implacable, became as little children in their simple reverence and loving obedience to their "father," "Kawana Kerei."

Indisputable evidence of the peacefulness of Grey's method of dealing with the natives is afforded by the fact that there were one hundred and seventy-one of our soldiers and seamen killed and wounded in battle during the four months from March to July, 1845, before Sir George Grey arrived. After his arrival and until his departure in 1854, a period of more than eight years, the number was only eighty-one.

* The Duke of Wellington. † Earl Grey, vol. 2, p. 152.

CHAPTER XXI.

SIR GEORGE GREY'S VINDICATION—HONOURS AT OXFORD.

“Censure is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent.”
Swift.

“Truth crushed to earth shall rise again :
The eternal years of God are hers ;
But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
And dies among his worshippers.”

Bryant.

“A jest's prosperity lies in the ear
Of him that hears it, never in the tongue
Of him that makes it.”

Love's Labour's Lost.

ON Sir George Grey's return to England, he found that the main object of that return was never to be accomplished. The mother whom he had fondly hoped to see once more was dead. Since the days of childhood he had seen but little of the one to whom he was so fondly attached. His regrets were vain. The delay in New Zealand which had prevented his presence at the death-bed of his mother had been caused only by the strong sense of duty which chained him to his post until his allotted task was finished.

! He found himself regarded with extreme disfavour by the Colonial Office. He was, emphatically, in disgrace. The Duke of Newcastle, though a personal friend, would not see him, and it was some time before the permanent Under-Secretary, Herman Merivale,

approached the subject of his disobedience to the Act of Parliament. The charges against him were formally made in both Houses of Parliament by Mr. Adderley, Sir John Pakington, and Lord Lyttelton. These accusations were met in the memorandum of Sir George Grey dated the 6th of July, 1854. The principal head of his offence was that he had refused to pay to the New Zealand Company a sum of money lying in the Auckland treasury, although the Act of the Imperial Parliament, and the instructions of Her Majesty's Ministers had ordered him so to do. •

The charge and his answer to it are stated thus by himself:—

(Charge *inter alia*.) “That I had refused to act according to the direction sent to me by the Superior Government at Home, by doing which I set an example which others might too readily form into a precedent in similar cases to act upon, and that therefore I am not a fit and proper person to retain in any office, or to receive any promotion in the public service.

“The facts of this case are as follow: Under instructions from Her Majesty, or from Her Majesty's Secretary of State, formal promises had been made by the Representatives of the Crown to the native population of New Zealand that the sum realised from the sale of the lands which they had been induced to part with to the Crown, should be expended for their benefit and for that of the settlements in the northern part of New Zealand; and when the chiefs have objected to part with their land for the inconsiderable sums offered to them by the Government, or have complained that they have been defrauded, I and others have repeatedly assured them, under the authority and with the approval of the Home Government, that the sums which they had received or which were to be given

to them were not the true payment for the land, but that the real payment would be the future expenditure of the fund realised from the sale of those lands upon certain objects specified to them, which would promote alike their own benefit and that of the European population.

"The European settlers in that district had also become purchasers of land there, and had invested large sums of money in the improvement of their lands on the faith of instructions of Her Majesty's signet and Royal sign manual, pledging the land fund to certain specified objects.

"Parliament apparently overlooking these circumstances, enacted in the 74th clause of the Constitution Act that one-fourth part of the sum realised from the sale of all lands in New Zealand should be paid over to the New Zealand Company, in liquidation of the principal and interest of a debt of £268,370 15s. od. claimed by that body, this being in direct opposition to the frequent promises that had been made to the natives of the Northern Province, which is in no way whatever mixed up with the affairs of the New Zealand Company; and I was advised by the Lieutenant-Governor and Executive Council of the Northern Province that any attempt to bring this arrangement into practical operation would endanger the peace and prosperity of the colony.

"I therefore directed that one-fourth of the land fund be remitted Home from every other part of New Zealand except the Province of Auckland, advised Her Majesty's Government of the amount due from Auckland under the arrangement made by Parliament (then about £9,000), directed that it should be retained in the chest to await their orders so that the Treasury in England could, if they thought proper, at once pay the amount in London and draw for it through the

military chest, at the same time earnestly entreating that the subject might be reconsidered, which could easily be done, for Parliament had by the 74th clause of the Constitution Act authorised the New Zealand Company to release all or any part of the lands in New Zealand from the payment charged upon them by the Act.

"I contend that in adopting this course I set a good example—not a bad one. As a high British officer I had induced a simple people to let us into quiet possession of tracts of land by frequently and formally making them promises of direct future advantages. If because Parliament, with insufficient information before it, legislated in a manner which required me to break those promises, I had deliberately broken them, and a new war and rebellion had followed, involving a large loss of life and property, and great expense to Great Britain, I should have been deservedly deemed not to be a fit and proper person to retain in my office.

"I contend that it was my duty, at the risk of every consequence to myself, to decline to break those public promises, which, in order to obtain valuable lands for the Crown, of which we still had possession, I had in my character of a British Governor made to the people I was sent to rule over. When Parliament, for want of sufficient information, legislates wrongfully or unjustly for a distant nation subject to its laws—unless the high officers of the empire will take the responsibility by delaying to act until they receive further instructions—the empire cannot be held together; for the moment such an Act of Parliament arrived in a country, the people, hopeless of that redress which ought to be afforded to them, would break out into revolt; whilst, could they have hoped that their complaints would have been listened to

before the law was enforced, they would have continued loyal and dutiful subjects.

"In declining, therefore, to break promises which I made as Her Majesty's representative, and in endeavouring to obtain a further consideration of the course which I feel certain Parliament had unadvisedly taken, of subjecting the lands near Auckland to the payment of so large a portion of the New Zealand Company's debt, I felt that I did my duty as a faithful servant of my Queen and country, and will cheerfully undergo every risk and punishment which may follow from my having adopted that course."

The attacks thus made, though backed by much of the influence of the old New Zealand Company and the Canterbury Association, completely failed. Sir John Pakington, on being more fully informed, withdrew his motion from the Order of the House of Commons. Mr. Adderley's charge was only successful in eliciting from Sir Frederick Peel a spirited defence of the Governor of New Zealand, while in the House of Lords the accusation brought by Lord Lyttelton drew forth a long and complete vindication of Sir George Grey's character and conduct from the Duke of Newcastle, the principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. Both in the Lords and Commons the motions, when made, failed to find a seconder.

The bold defiance Sir George had shown to the command of Ministers and Parliament was not in itself to be commended, but his defence was admitted almost universally to be complete. The public faith of England had been pledged; the honour of the Crown had to be maintained. The true spirit of the English Constitution had been appealed to by him in his dignified reply. All political parties concurred in the decision that in the government of a distant

colony, and under the peculiar circumstances in which that colony was placed, he had, by his bold and independent course, vindicated his claim to independent judgment and his assumption of authority, transcending even the power of Parliament itself.

His peace was soon made when full and personal explanation had been given. The public estimation of his conduct was shown typically by the University of Oxford. At all seasons of public excitement, especially when the conduct of individuals moving in the higher circles of political life is called in question, the great seats of learning show their appreciation of the merits of such personages irrespective of the success or failure which may attend their actions. So great was the sympathy aroused in favour of Sir George Grey, that Oxford tendered to him the highest honours which it is privileged to bestow, and which are reserved not to reward mere competition in learning, but the exemplification of those qualities which give lustre to private character or greatness to public life.

It was, therefore, with great pleasure, that Sir George Grey received the notification that the University of Oxford proposed to confer upon him its honorary degree.

He proceeded to Oxford for the purpose of accepting this gratifying mark of public approbation.

The only other recipient of the highest honours bestowed by Oxford on that day was Prince Napoleon. It was popularly supposed in England that Prince Napoleon had been instrumental in obtaining that alliance with France which launched us into the Crimean War. The fear and hatred of Russia had for years been growing. Russian atrocities in Poland and in Siberia, her designs in the far East, and evident desire to take Constantinople, and thus dominate the Black Sea, and perhaps the Mediterranean, raised in

the national mind a hatred at once deep and passionate.

The declaration of war against the great Northern Power was, therefore, almost universally hailed with rejoicing. John Bull was thoroughly roused, and he delighted to honour those who had helped to precipitate this gigantic strife.

Thus Sir George Grey found himself bracketed with the strangest possible companion in receiving honours at the oldest centre of learning in England or the world.

The French Prince was the first to be invested. During this process Sir George sat in a hall opposite the stage, listening to the alternate speeches and shoutings which made the theatre resound. The students were thoroughly in earnest. While the public orator dwelt upon the merits of the Great Nephew of the Conqueror of Europe, the whole assembly burst out into acclamation. Cheer followed cheer, as the undergraduates gave voice to the popular enthusiasm.

The mind of the solitary listener was perplexed. He remembered long years ago, when he was a child, how the very name of Buonaparte was hated. His memory recalled the pictures which represented "Boney" swallowing children, and which in a hundred ways held up the First Napoleon to the public hatred. Now, in less than fifty years, the *jeunesse dorée*—the golden youth of England—were mad with delight at honouring his nephew.

There was but little time left to him for moralising. The Prince having been duly invested, Sir George was pushed and dragged upon the platform in his turn. The crush was great—so heavy, in fact, that his gown, itself historical, for it had been worn by Blucher on a like occasion after Waterloo, was nearly

torn off his back before he was in that position necessary to enable the orator to address him, and at the same time to be visible and audible to the vast concourse in the body of the house.

At length the ceremony began. The public orator, in a learned Latin oration, enumerated the claims which Sir George Grey possessed to public honour. In flowing sentences he told how his subject had pierced the dim mysteries of unknown Australia, how he had pacified and blessed the first colony committed to his care, and how, in further performance of public duty, he had quelled the fierceness and civilised the spirit of the warlike and cannibal tribes of New Zealand. Young England, from the galleries of the Sheldonian Theatre, listened patiently till mention was made of the subduing of the "anthropophagi" of New Zealand.

Two thousand students, gathered within those walls which from time immemorial had echoed the free voices of English youth, heard that amid the sunny isles of the Pacific, and in New Zealand, Sir George Grey had made himself the ruler of savage, man-eating tribes. The hint afforded was amply sufficient. A stentorian voice in one of the galleries started that well-known song, "The King of the Cannibal Islands." Barely a line of this vulgar but popular melody had been sung, when with a roar of delight nearly the whole audience joined in. In vain the learned orator waved his arms and implored silence. The Napoleon episode had raised an extraordinary excitement in the undergraduate mind, and following that, the aptness of the circumstances surrounding Sir George Grey's history gave zest to the music-hall song.

The orator, alternately uttering his speech and endeavouring to still the tumult, continued to descant

upon the merits of the Governor of South Australia and New Zealand. His lips moved, and his hands kept time with what were no doubt rounded sentences and eloquent appeals, but Sir George could hear no sound which proceeded from his lips amid the tremendous chorus which surged and echoed round them.

Book the Fourth.

FIRST GOVERNORSHIP OF CAPE COLONY, 1854-1859.

CHAPTER XXII.

SKETCH OF PREVIOUS SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.

“ The best-laid schemes o’ mice and men
Gang aft a-gley,
And leave us nought but grief and pain
For promised joy.”

Burns.

THE Duke of Newcastle was sincerely desirous for the welfare of the colonies. The condition of the Cape of Good Hope had been growing steadily more and more perplexing. Native wars involving military expenditure, both in men and in money, seemed a part of the normal history of South Africa. The crisis, which culminated in the “boycotting” of the Government on account of the convict ships in 1849, was accompanied and followed by serious disturbances upon the frontier and a prolonged Kafir war. The numerous bodies of Dutch colonists who, at various times, especially after 1833, when slavery was abolished, “trekked” to the northward caused great uneasiness, and led to the abandonment of the Orange River sovereignty and the treaty with the Boers of the Transvaal Republic.

The Cape had shared in the general advantages arising from the granting of local self-government to the colonies, and the first representative Parliament was to meet in 1854. The increased powers given to the colonists at the Cape did not seem likely to render any more easy the task of governing the heterogeneous mass of diverse races and interests existing under British rule in South Africa, and closely bordering upon British territory.

The presence of the Governor of New Zealand, fresh from his successful tasks in the far South, seemed to provide the man wanted by the Colonial Office in its extremity. The Duke, therefore, approached Sir George Grey and requested his assistance at the Cape. As, nine years before, Lord Stanley had placed before him the offer of New Zealand, and urged as strong inducements in themselves the peril, the toil, and the arduous nature of the duties thus proposed, so now the Duke of Newcastle pointed out the dangers which surrounded the Government of South Africa, and the difficulty of obtaining the necessary aid, as reasons why Sir George Grey should accede to the request of Her Majesty's ministers in this respect.

Deeply attached as he was to New Zealand and its people of both races, anxious almost beyond measure to witness and guide the working of those liberal institutions which he had done so much to frame, Sir George decided to act in the manner dictated by duty. Without hesitation he accepted the Governorship of the Cape.

When Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco di Gama discovered the Cape in 1486 and 1497, a marble cross was erected on the shore as a token of the annexation of that land to the Portuguese kingdom, as well as a monument of gratitude to God for His mercies. The country never was absolutely possessed by Portugal.

When they were supplanted by the Dutch, the latter also merely took nominal possession.

It was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that any act of colonisation was attempted. In 1652 Jan Anthony Van Riebeck, a surgeon in the employment of the Dutch East India Company, was duly commissioned to occupy the "Cabo de Bon Esperanza." Accompanied by about one hundred people, he arrived and encamped under Table Mountain on the 5th of April of the same year. He first formally purchased the territory in 1671. Under Simon Van der Stell, the ablest of Riebeck's successors, a number of French refugee Huguenots, of high rank and noble character, who with their wives and families were driven from France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, joined the parties of Dutch emigrants, beginning in 1687. In 1688 and 1689 other shiploads followed.

After a century of rough history, in 1795, Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig, with a British fleet and forces, took possession. The Dutch resisted, although the English brought a letter from the Prince of Orange; but at length the place was given up to England on the 12th November, 1795.

The Cape was promised to Holland at the Peace of Amiens, 1802, and restored to her in 1803, when General Janssens took office. With the aid of the Commissary-General, De Mist, Janssens governed wisely for a little time, but war soon recommenced. General Baird was sent to the Cape, and, after a smart action, Janssens, who had done all that a brave man could, accepted the very honourable terms offered by Sir David Baird, and the Cape became finally a British colony on the 19th of January, 1806. A final convention was made in 1814, in which the Cape was ceded to the British Crown by the Netherlands.

The history of the Cape during the next forty years was a record of ever-increasing trouble and perplexity. Misunderstandings arose between the Dutch and English colonists, and the Dutch settlers and the English Governor, leading to defiance on the part of the Boers and savage punishment being inflicted on them by the Government of the time. Collisions occurred between the Imperial authorities and the colony, of so grave a nature as almost to threaten the continuance of the Cape as a British possession. Long-continued wars with the natives, always entailing heavy expense and loss; an expenditure of Imperial funds, irksome to the Home authorities and distasteful to Parliament—all contributed to make South Africa a source of annoyance and apprehension to the Ministers of the Crown. Governor after governor, general after general, retired from South Africa baffled and exasperated. As General Cathcart at length put it to the Ministry in London, it required a great statesman to deal with the complex questions raised in South Africa, and a great soldier to direct its military affairs.

The leading events of the five years which preceded the arrival of Sir George Grey were well calculated to perplex the mind of the Secretary of State, in whose department lay the care of this dependency. In 1849, the experiment tried by Earl Grey of sending cheap labour in the shape of convicts to the Cape of Good Hope, threw the whole colony into a state of frenzy. In the three years, 1850, 1851, and 1852, under Sir Harry Smith and General Cathcart, fierce wars were waged with the native tribes. So overweighted was the English Government by anxiety on account of the Transvaal Boers and the settlers in the Orange River Sovereignty that the Transvaal was declared an Independent Republic and the Orange River Sovereignty a Free State.

On the 18th of January, 1852, the Sand River Convention, for the settling and adjusting of the affairs of the eastern and north-eastern boundaries of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, was made between Major Hogge and C. M. Owen, Esq., Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners, and a deputation of Boers, sixteen in number, headed by A. W. J. Pretorius, Commandant-General. Its principal clause runs thus :

"The Assistant Commissioners guarantee in the fullest manner on the part of the British Government to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws without any interference on the part of the British Government, and that no encroachment shall be made by the said Government on the territory beyond the north of the Vaal River, with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British Government is to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse with the emigrant farmers now inhabiting or who may hereafter inhabit that country ; it being understood that this system of non-interference is binding upon both parties." *

On October 21st, 1851, Earl Grey had written to Sir Harry Smith that "The ultimate abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty should be a settled point in the Imperial policy." In December, 1852, General Cathcart had attacked the great Basuto chief Moshesh on the Berea, near to the isolated heights of Thaba Bosigo. Alarmed at the prospect of another great native war, the General had, after suffering considerable loss, accepted the formal submission of the cunning Basuto, proclaimed peace, and marched his troops back across the Orange River. He then re-

* Twenty-five years after, on the 22nd January, 1877, Theophilus Shepstone entered Pretoria with his commission to annex the Transvaal in his pocket. On the 18th, therefore, he was on his way.

presented to the English Government the necessity which existed for a final decision. Either they must support a force of two thousand men to uphold the authority of the Crown and resist at the same time Panda and his tribe, Moshesh and the Basutos, and the disaffected burghers and Transvaal emigrants, or they must abandon the sovereignty at once and for ever. Whichever course they adopted, the General requested that some able and experienced statesman might be sent from Great Britain, at any expense, to relieve him of political duties for which his military training did not fit him.

Two years afterwards the gallant soldier, having been recalled, met a warrior's death on the heights of Inkermann.

The despatches of General Cathcart precipitated a crisis in the colonial policy of the Empire. Already in the Sand River Convention the English Government had deliberately cast off large numbers of British subjects. Now a more decisive step was to be taken. Not only were subjects of the Crown to be told that they no longer owed allegiance to the Queen of England, but territories belonging to the Empire, over which its laws ran, and to the soil of which the title of the Crown had been given, were to be deliberately abandoned. After grave consideration, it was decided by Her Majesty's Ministers to relinquish the Orange River Sovereignty.

On the 6th of April, 1853, a commission was issued to Sir George Russell Clark, a distinguished Indian official, who had formerly been Governor of Bombay, appointing him Assistant Commissioner under the High Commissioner, and authorising him to carry the abandonment into effect. The announcement of this astounding decision was received in South Africa with dismay.

The severance was only to be completed if the people publicly desired it. A public meeting was called, at which it was made known that a sum of five thousand pounds would be given by the British Government, in case the abandonment were agreed to, for the purpose of placing the temporary Government in funds. The meeting was not truly representative. A majority, tempted more by the prospect of obtaining control of this sum of money than by any political feeling, carried a resolution agreeing to the terms offered and the severance of the territory from the Empire.

On the 11th March, 1854, the English flag was hoisted for the last time on the Queen's fort, and saluted. When it was lowered, the flag of the new Republic took its place. Delegates were sent to England to protest against this desertion of British territory and British subjects. On the 16th of March the delegates, Messrs. Fraser and Murray, having arrived in England, waited upon the Duke of Newcastle and laid their case before him. The Duke told them, in reply, that it was too late to discuss the question. The authority of the Queen had been already too far extended. England could not supply troops to maintain constantly-advancing outposts. So far as South Africa was concerned, continued the Duke, this reasoning was unanswerable, as Cape Town and the harbour of Table Bay were all that Great Britain really required there.

The delegates left the Colonial Office sad and dispirited. They opened communications with Mr. C. B. Adderley, afterwards Lord Norton, who had befriended the Cape in the dispute which had arisen five years before upon the question of the transportation of convicts, and whose name had been given to one of the principal streets in Cape Town. Mr.

Adderley agreed to bring the matter before the House of Commons. On the 9th of May he moved an address to Her Majesty, praying her to reconsider the order-in-council renouncing sovereignty over the Orange River Territory. His speech dealt mainly with the legal aspect of the question. He doubted the constitutional right of the Crown to alienate British territory and absolve British subjects from their allegiance without the consent of Parliament. The advantages offered by the country as a field for colonisation were but slightly touched upon.

The Attorney-General and a few other members spoke in support of the action of the Government. The belief was unanimously expressed that the step taken by the Ministers was in accordance with law, as well as expedient. Sir John Pakington, formerly Secretary for the Colonies, and Sir Frederick Thesiger concurred in the opinion that it would have been advisable to consult Parliament, but thought the abandonment a wise and judicious step. The debate was lifeless and one-sided. Mr. Adderley, finding that he had not a single supporter, withdrew his motion.

Messrs. Fraser and Murray left the House of Commons with heavy hearts, and sorrowfully returned to South Africa.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE GOVERNOR AND MR. SHEPSTONE'S PROPOSED KINGDOM.

"The commander over men : he to whose will our wills are to be subordinated and loyally surrender themselves, and find their welfare in doing so, may be reckoned the most important of great men."—*Carlyle*.

THE delegates had just returned, when Sir George Grey arrived in England. Their mournful faces were no longer to be seen in the antechamber of the House of Commons. Representative institutions had been granted to the Cape Colony, but it was as yet quite uncertain whether they would work successfully or not in that part of the world.

So strong and bitter were the prejudices existing between the different races and the inhabitants of different localities in South Africa that it was beyond human foresight to predict with any certainty what the result would be. The first meeting of the Cape Parliament had been held some little time prior to the advent of Sir George Grey, but it had only sat for a few weeks, and no business of importance had been transacted. It was adjourned, in order that the new Governor might lay before it any proposals for the public welfare which he believed worthy of its consideration.

As he had done in South Australia and New Zealand, Sir George took immediate steps to become

acquainted with the real position of the colony committed to his care, and without loss of time mastered the intricacies of South African politics, even to minute details. He was soon in a position to meet the Parliament. When that body assembled, he submitted to its two houses a comprehensive plan for the pacification and development both of the British territory and of the States immediately contiguous. He united with his authority as Governor the almost absolute powers of High Commissioner.

Already, both in South Australia and in New Zealand, he had been called upon in exceptional circumstances to govern communities which were not under the control of ordinary law, nor amenable to the usual discipline of organised society. In both cases his power was almost unlimited, his discretion absolutely unfettered. In the closing words of his remarks upon New Zealand, Earl Grey had claimed as a merit the fact that Ministers had given the powers of a Dictator in that country to Sir George Grey. If it were possible that a colony could be found in a state of greater confusion than New Zealand when Sir George Grey assumed office there, that possibility occurred in South Africa.

Fully aware of the circumstances attendant upon Grey's governorship of New Zealand, and confident in his ability and courage, the Duke of Newcastle was keenly alive to the chaos which existed at the Cape. Sir George, therefore, was entrusted with ample jurisdiction. He was, as it were, constituted an autocrat.

When his proposals had been made to the Cape Parliament and accepted by them, and the first real session had ended, Sir George proceeded to enquire into those matters which fell more immediately within the powers of his commission, for the purpose of

rectifying abuses and redressing injuries which might exist.

After exhaustive enquiries he found that wherever certain Hottentot troops, who had been disbanded from Her Majesty's service, had found a home, that place became a little centre of discord and disaffection. Then he ascertained that these native troops had been cheated by the Imperial Government, or that department which ruled them, namely, the War Office; and were only receiving less than one quarter of the pension which they had been led to expect, a grant of land being taken into account, which the Government afterwards refused to give, and which the disbanded European troops were actually in possession of at that very time. Although representations had been made, these grievances were not redressed.

Sir George Grey thereupon issued a proclamation in the Queen's name, stating that out of the love borne by Her Most Gracious Majesty to her Hottentot subjects, she had determined that all their wounds should be healed and justice administered, and that thenceforward the disbanded Hottentot forces should receive exactly the same pension as they had been promised, and which their English comrades were receiving; and further, that all claims for arrears of pension sent in before a certain date should receive satisfaction in full. No further discontent or mutiny ever occurred from these people, or from this cause; and Sir George Grey obtained the consent of the Cape Parliament, which, indeed, voted and paid the money required.

But the great departments in London were dreadfully scandalised. They had set their feet upon the Hottentots, and now the "Great Pro-Consul," as Sir George Grey has been fitly called, rebuked them in the face of the whole colony, and indeed of the whole nation. They were furious, but their fury was un-

availing. The thing was done past recall; it was done in the Queen's name and by the Queen's High Commissioner. The mere healing of this one sore in the South African body was in itself of great importance, and it established a new precedent, the worth of which was incalculable. Both natives and Europeans became suddenly awake to the fact that the new Governor had at once the power and the will to do justice to all.

This was but one of many causes that kept South Africa in a ferment. The interminable wars waged with the Kafirs and Basutos had left the bulk of those tribes still dwelling upon portions of the northern and eastern frontiers; while to the east and northward of Natal the warlike Zulus, led by the great chief Panda, hovered like a thunder cloud, ever ready to burst in storm and ruin on the lands beneath. The tide of emigration from the Cape Colony proper had stretched in two directions. The emigrant farmers who had fled to escape the alleged severity of British rule, had gone northward across the River Vaal; while the main stream of those who had carried with them their allegiance to the British Crown, had flowed almost due east from the first settlements at the Cape. Some of the latter had deflected to the southward towards the sea coast, but the main body, opposed by fierce and untamable tribes, had gone on in an easterly course until they had swept down to the sea at Natal.

Natal at this time carried a population of somewhat under 10,000 Europeans. From the atrocious tyranny of the Zulu kings Chaaka, Dingaan, and Panda, scores of thousands of wretched outcasts had fled into British territory at Natal. The return of these to their own country had been demanded with threats by Panda, who could lead into the field a well-disciplined army of upwards of 30,000 fearless warriors. His demands

had been always refused. The presence, however, of such vast bodies of barbarians within the colony caused disquiet in the mind of the Government.

Sir Benjamin Pine was at that time Lieutenant-Governor of Natal. His principal adviser, especially in native matters, was the son of an African missionary named Shepstone. Theophilus Shepstone had been brought as the sons of missionaries are generally brought up in savage lands. They are surrounded by a servile population, and often nursed by them. These circumstances generally exercise some influence over the minds of the children. History is full of examples which illustrate this theory. No missionary church where the families of missionaries have accompanied their parents has altogether escaped. In New Zealand, in Tasmania, in India, and in Africa, this truth has in modern days been sometimes exemplified.

Theophilus Shepstone was named by the tribes among whom his youth and early manhood had been spent Somtseu, which name he always used in his correspondence and intercourse with the native people. No man has been more potent than he in wielding influences which have exposed the populations of South Africa to great disasters. History must declare that the astuteness displayed by him was singularly disastrous in its effects alike on friends and enemies. Mr. Shepstone had made proposals to the Lieutenant-Governor, and through him to the Imperial Government, in 1852, concerning the disposal and management of the fugitive crowds of Zulus who had sought refuge in British territory from their own ferocious king.

These overtures had been favourably considered by the governing powers, and correspondence had ensued, which was not completed when Sir George Grey entered upon his duties as Governor and High Com-

missioner. The proposals made by Mr. Shepstone were that he should personally obtain the cession of a large territory from the native tribes, and march 50,000 or 60,000 of these Zulus into and settle them upon this territory, himself assuming the position of an independent chief or king, being supported by British treasure and British arms. Fortunately, although the Lieutenant-Governor and his immediate superiors, as well as Downing Street, had expressed themselves as favourably inclined towards Mr. Shepstone's plans, Lord John Russell, who then held the seals of office, requested Sir George Grey to report at length upon the whole matter. The Governor, before reporting, inquired fully into all the circumstances connected with the subject.

Between Natal and British Kaffraria there lay a tract of country one hundred miles by sixty which was practically "No man's land." Bounded on the east by Natal, and on the west by British Kaffraria, it stretched from the mountains to the Atlantic. The traveller or sportsman traversing the lofty ridges of the Drakensberg towards Natal, beheld spreading to the south a fertile and beautiful land, fringed on the distant horizon by the blue waters of the great sea. Rivers like threads of silver wound their courses between the hills and through the woods and valleys beneath. Forests of primeval age flanked wide pasture-lands, green with natural herbage and dotted with graceful palms. Here and there sparsely scattered over this rich country were kraals, few in number and diminutive in extent. The great game, although diminishing, was still hunted there, and even yet the stately elephant tore his way through the dense undergrowth, and the roar of the lion woke warning echoes in the night. But the wildebeeste and the quagga, the leopard and the deer, roamed abundantly and

offered sport. The semi-tropical climate afforded every aid to the virgin soil necessary to produce in abundance the fruits of industry. In the gardens of the settlements cabbages and pineapples grew in alternate rows. Well watered, and possessing more natural advantages perhaps than any other part of South Africa, it tempted cupidity and inspired desire.

Upon this region Mr. Theophilus Shepstone had often cast a longing look. This was the territory which he proposed to Sir Benjamin Pine, and through him to the Governor and the Colonial Office, should be absolutely given and secured to him.

His propositions in reality amounted to the creation of a despotic kingdom, erected and sustained by Great Britain, in which he was to be the absolute ruler of a savage nation, with power to tax and to legislate uncontrolled. In it he was to be paid by annual grants of English money, and to be defended by English arms.

The matter had been almost concluded before Sir George Grey arrived at Cape Town. No sooner had he been made acquainted with the facts than he instructed Sir Benjamin Pine to do nothing further, and, in obedience to his instructions, he proceeded to explain to the Imperial Government the nature and consequences of the proposed arrangement.

On December 3rd, 1855, the Governor wrote from Cape Town a long and elaborate despatch. The subject was one of more than ordinary importance. It presented many and peculiar features. After sketching the rise and course of the various streams of colonisation, he dwelt upon the difficulties by which the emigrants had been met and the dangers which menaced them from the barbarous tribes, sullenly chafing against them on all points.

"Thus," he writes, "the eastern districts have ever

been harassed by the turbulent Kafirs; the people of the Albert and Queen's Town districts by Kafirs, Tambookies, and Basutos; the Orange Free State by Basutos, Barologs, and Koranas. On some points of this extensive line it is all that the European race can do to maintain its position; and it is yet doubtful, now the European population is broken up into separate States, if some one of these small communities may not hereafter find itself, at least for a time, overmatched by the turbulent barbarians who hang upon its eastern flank.

"The great chance of safety for all of them appears to be this, that the tract of country, bounded by British Kaffarari, the Queen's Town District, Albert, the Orange Free State, Natal, and the sea, is not thickly inhabited by the coloured race. The most densely inhabited portions of that territory are the hilly regions and difficult tracts of country which abut upon the European states, and lie on the western side of the mountain range; but there is a large tract of fertile country lying along the sea coast, and on the eastern side of the great mountain range, which is nearly uninhabited, into which Europeans are now filtering, which could carry a large and wealthy population, the presence of which would, by shutting in the native tribes between two faces, secure those European states which are now in constant jeopardy of hostile inroads from their barbarous neighbours."

This was the district which Mr. Shepstone proposed to appropriate. It was the only available country, as the Governor showed, suitable for European colonisation at that time uninhabited.

Turning, then, to the position of Natal, Sir George Grey pointed out that the 100,000 Zulus settled within its borders were peaceable and well ordered, and that the very proximity of their former oppressor tended to

make them loyal to the English Government. They were also taxpayers, and although their location in large numbers upon great areas of land tended to discourage habits of industry, and promoted an idle pastoral life, yet they were, at any rate, under control, and civilising and Christianising influences were at work amongst them. Numbers of them, also, were employed by the European settlers, and some of the worst effects of the gathering together of large bodies of barbarians within, or immediately upon, the borders of a colony, had been in their case considerably mitigated.

The massing of large bodies of natives together had invariably produced disastrous results. Alluding to Mr. Shepstone himself, the Governor pointed out that that gentleman had for nearly ten years been in complete control of these Zulus in Natal. He had been aided by intelligent magistrates in their government, by missionary institutions for their civilisation, by a strong military force for the preservation of order; and yet, in the reports made by Mr. Owen, these natives were stated to be "as great savages as they possibly could have been a thousand years ago."

The despatch then proceeded to show that under the circumstances existing the shifting of fifty or sixty thousand of these turbulent people under the guidance of Mr. Shepstone (who had already failed to alter their condition), into a new and extensive country, where they would be free from those influences which had compelled submission, would inevitably lead to great disorder and endless trouble. The natives themselves would not be benefited, while the Europeans would have planted between the two colonies a nation of barbarians, likely to cause continual war.

To Natal also the step would be disadvantageous. Not only would the control of this vast multitude have

passed away from the government of that colony, but fresh hordes would swarm from Zululand across the border to fill up the places vacated by the army following Mr. Shepstone to the new location, thus creating additional perils for the Cape Colony.

Examining then the plan in detail Sir George Grey gave it his entire and utter condemnation. It was wrong in principle; it would be perilous in practice. He condemned also the guarantees which it was proposed to give to Mr. Shepstone.

The despatch concluded thus:—"The proposition, therefore, is nothing else than that Great Britain should establish a new kingdom in South Africa (it is so termed in letters I have seen); make Mr. Shepstone the king of that country; guarantee him the security and integrity of his dominions; give him a pension of £500 a year; and agree that he is to have despotic powers in governing the country, in raising its revenues, in expending them.

"No guarantees are exacted from him. It is not pretended that so princely a grant is to be bestowed on him in reward of past public services which entitle him to it. No condition is imposed on him precedent to his receiving this noble gift.

"The supremacy over the country and the people who may inhabit it is first to be assured to him. Then he is to induce as many of the natives of Natal as may be willing to follow him to join him. If not one thousand go, still he forfeits nothing. Yet, it need hardly be said, what will be the value of the gift of such a tract of country, not remote, but lying between already populous European countries, near to an European population, where a nation like Great Britain guarantees its inhabitants against foreign aggression and the acts of its own subjects. Why should Great Britain enter into such guarantees? It throws off

many thousands of its own European subjects in the Orange Free State simply because it will not protect them against foreign aggression. Why should it now with a single subject enter into such guarantees?

"I think, moreover, in a great Empire such as this, that it is wrong in principle to set a public officer over native races, and when he, from exercising for years over them powers delegated to him by the nation he represents, has necessarily from his public position acquired great influence over them, to permit him to use such influence to acquire the cession of a large tract of country to himself.

"If Great Britain thinks it necessary to set up in the territory now under consideration an independent kingdom under the sway of a prince established by herself, and guaranteed by her from all foreign aggression, which kingdom from its fertility and position must soon be occupied by a large European population, let her choose for the purpose someone whose great public services give him some claim to so noble a reward; whose talents and experience fit him to govern not only natives but Europeans; whose ability and knowledge would render this country a bulwark and source of strength to Great Britain, not of weakness; and if she enters into such important guarantees, let her exercise some control over the expenditure of its revenue, the judicious or injudicious application of which will determine what expense she will be required to bear in fulfilment of her part of the conditions.

"By the last despatch from your Lordship's department in relation to this subject (No. 16, 20th March, 1855), it appears that Her Majesty's Government has gone to the extent of stating that there can be no objection to the emigration of any of the Zulus from Natal into the country lying to the south-west of

that colony, provided that no obligation is incurred by the British or local governments for their maintenance or defence in these new habitations, and provided that the absence of all such obligation was distinctly notified to them.

"These instructions were, however, clearly issued because a full explanation had not been afforded of what had taken place.

"The plan was originally suggested by an officer of the British Government, who, still holding that office, was to negotiate for the surrender of the territory to himself, and who then was immediately to rule it as an independent prince. It was further then understood by all parties that Great Britain was to recognise this new chief, and to undertake to protect his state against aggression, either from other States or from British subjects.

"It therefore appears that if the Amapondo nation agreed to let a foreign people come in and occupy a part of their territories, on the understanding that these territories were given up to an agent of the British Government with the consent of that Government, and that the powerful British nation was going to guarantee the peace of that district and its inhabitants by promising protection from aggression or against all the world, then that justice to the Amapondos requires that the proposed emigration should not be allowed to go on under such altered circumstances, until they have been equally informed with the tribes who propose to emigrate of the changes in the plan which have taken place.

"Having taken these views upon this subject, which are embodied in the present despatch, I have, in pursuance of the powers vested in me, directed the Government of Natal neither directly or indirectly to encourage or sanction any measures for carrying it

out until Your Lordship's further instructions are received.

"It only remains for me to add that when I arrived at Natal I found that Lieutenant Governor Pine, notwithstanding the orders on the subject from Your Lordship's department, had, immediately before he embarked from Natal on leave of absence, written authorising Mr. Shepstone at once to take all necessary preliminary steps for carrying out his project when my approval to it was received, and that acting on this authority Mr. Shepstone had secured the cession of the territory to himself, subject to the approval of the British Government, and had by some of the natives in that territory been recognised as a chief; and it was therefore thought by some that to stop the plan would be a breach of faith with the natives. I, however, did not concur in this opinion, and have given the instructions I have above stated.—I have, etc.,

"G. GREY."

On the 15th February, 1856, Mr. Labouchere, afterwards Lord Taunton, wrote entirely agreeing with and endorsing Sir George Grey's views, and Mr. Shepstone's kingdom did not come into existence.

It is difficult to understand how such an outrageous proposal could ever have been entertained. As we shall hereafter see, Mr. Shepstone's subsequent actions helped to launch South Africa into the troubled waters of the Transvaal and Zulu wars. Had he succeeded in obtaining the kingdom which he desired, it is probable that still heavier disasters would have come upon that unhappy region.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SUBJUGATION OF KAFIR CHIEFS AND WITCH DOCTORS.

“ We live in deeds, not years ; in thoughts, not breaths,
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.
We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.”

P. J. Bailey.

ALTHOUGH parliamentary government had been granted to South Africa, the rule of a responsible ministry had not yet obtained. The Governor was unfettered in his discretion as to the policy to be submitted by him to Parliament. He was indeed aided by a Council, composed of the great Executive officers, who, by virtue of their office, could attend in both Houses of Parliament and explain the scope and intention of all matters submitted. They, however, had no votes, nor were they dependent for office upon any will of the Legislature. They were Imperial officers, responsible only to the Governor and the Crown.

Seeking information from every source, and recognising the stupendous nature of the task imposed upon him in this new sphere of duty, the Governor fixed his mind upon the accomplishment of the same results by the same means which had already in the case of New Zealand worked so well. To him, in truth, there appeared but one road open which was likely to lead to success. Happily, as in his former

Governments, his hands were left untied. The country was given over to him. He was responsible for its good government, but he was free and unfettered for all practical purposes.

In Grey's estimation, power and authority were only means to an end. He coveted complete control, because with every widening of his influence he could accomplish more. The end he toiled for was the greatest good of all. That narrow maxim uttered by Jeremy Bentham, "The greatest good of the greatest number," found in him no ardent supporter. The greatest good for all was the constant aim of his life. To him power was to be desired because it enabled him to defend the weak, to succour the distressed, to teach the ignorant, to set free the slave, to raise the fallen, to humble the oppressor, and to establish liberty on a broad and substantial base. And he always pertinaciously strove for the highest good possible in the line of his various efforts. In education, in philanthropy, in public and social reforms, in politics, in science, and in religion, he always tried to scale the farthest heights. In all, his goal was the very last step that human reason and human fortitude might reach, the loftiest pinnacle that the sons of men might scale.

And so it sometimes happened that he, being far in advance of those by whom he was surrounded, alarmed many of his friends, and was jeered at by his enemies. To his mind possibilities presented themselves which others could not see. So long as he was the possessor of almost despotic authority, and was thereby enabled to carry his plans into execution, he did things which will make his name famous to all time. No Roman pro-consul wielded power over wider dominions or was brought into contact with wilder nations. No man ever subdued

with so little bloodshed such great numbers of barbarians. He set himself the task of utilising the great influence which he possessed in every direction for the permanent happiness and prosperity of the South African peoples. Many years afterwards, when the history of that time was written, the verdict passed upon Sir George Grey's plans, especially as regards the native tribes, was this :

"The aim of the policy of the Colonial Government since 1855 has been to establish and maintain peace, to diffuse civilization and Christianity, and to establish society on the basis of individual property and personal industry. The agencies employed are the magistrate, the missionary, the schoolmaster, and the trader. The educational efforts put forth are extensive, and pre-eminent among them is the industrial and training institution at Lovedale."*

Through this great school upwards of two thousand native youths have passed, receiving education and civilized culture. During the last seventeen years the natives have paid in fees to this school upwards of a thousand a year. "These efforts," observes Dr. Dale, the colonial Superintendent-General of Education, "must commend themselves to the statesman and the politician as providing the best guarantees for good order and commercial development. With school instruction came habits of enterprise and self-reliance. The wants of civilized life necessitate some degree of industry, and thus wealth accumulates in private hands. Every native who owns a plot of land or a plough or a wagon and oxen is a hostage for peace."

"Passing over the early days of colonisation and the series of miserable wars in later years, for which changes of Governors and changes of policy were in

* "History of South Africa," J. Noble, 1877, pp. 334, 335.

some degree responsible, we may limit our observations to the period embraced within the last quarter of a century, dating from the commencement of Sir George Grey's administration. During this time peace has been uninterruptedly enjoyed within British frontiers. The natives have been treated in all respects with justice and consideration. Large tracts of the richest land are expressly set apart for them under the name of 'reserves' and 'locations.' The greater part of them live in these locations, under the superintendence of European magistrates or missionaries. . . . As a whole they are now enjoying far greater comfort and prosperity than they ever did in their normal state of barbaric independence and perpetually-recurring tribal wars before coming into contact with Europeans.

"The advantages and value of British rule have of late years struck root in the native mind over an immense portion of South Africa. They realise that it is a protection from external encroachment, and that only under the 'aegis of the Government' can they be secure and enjoy peace and prosperity. Influenced by this feeling, several tribes beyond the colonial boundaries are now eager to be brought within the pale of civilised authority, and ere long Her Majesty's sovereignty will be extended over fresh territories, with the full and free consent of the chiefs and tribes inhabiting them."*

The new Governor, besides establishing schools among the natives, saw that it was necessary to break down the power of the chiefs and the influence of the witch-doctors. In two ways the authority which the chiefs of the tribes possessed was used for the purpose of self-aggrandisement and of oppression. In the first place, they sat as magistrates, and as such

* "History of South Africa," J. Noble, pp. 334 and 335

inflicted fines upon alleged wrong-doers, which fines they appropriated to themselves. This naturally led to every species of extortion and injustice, from which the only escape was by flight or assassination. A still more potent weapon was used by the chiefs, viz., the witch-doctors. If any individual became possessed of considerable property, so as to excite the cupidity of the chief, he incurred the risk of being accused of witchcraft. Some death or other misfortune happening to a member of the tribe was laid at his door. He was charged with having caused this misfortune by incantations or collusion with evil spirits.

To ascertain the machinery by which the crime had been committed, the aid of the witch-doctors was invoked. These pretended to be able to discover, by the sense of smell, the articles which had been used for the purpose of accomplishing the evil deed. They would declare the shape and substance of this instrument before entering on their final search. The fate of the victim was sealed. The witch-doctor having taken care to secrete the article searched for in some part of or near the dwelling of the accused person, would then publicly and infallibly find it in accordance with his prediction. Torture was resorted to to compel confession, oftentimes successfully. In some instances men really believed that they had caused the death of others by incantations. In others they willingly confessed crimes of which they were innocent, so that a swift and speedy death might terminate the horrible agonies of protracted torture.

The measures necessary to destroy these two evils were essentially different. As regards the power which the chiefs directly exercised, Sir George Grey made a commencement in British Kaffraria. This territory, then under the rule of the Imperial Government, was inhabited by the strong and the warlike

tribes of the Gaikas, the Slambies, and the Amagunukwebe, whose chiefs and sub-chiefs were powerful and independent. The system of subsidising these native rulers was introduced. Head men were appointed and European special magistrates, who were to hear and try all cases. The chiefs were to discontinue their duties as judges, except that they sat with the European magistrates, and in lieu of the revenue which they had formerly obtained through the fines imposed, they were to receive fixed salaries from the Governor.

The earliest experiment made was with the loyal chief Kama. Captain Reeve was appointed the first special magistrate in January, 1856, and Mr. Chalmers, who thirty years afterwards wrote an interesting account of this portion of South African history, was the first clerk and interpreter. This system was strenuously opposed. The chiefs saw that their influence was doomed were this new practice adopted. It succeeded, however, beyond anticipation. Kama was pleased, Captain Reeve gave great satisfaction, the natives were not only contented but delighted with the change. Sir George Grey determined that the system should be extended at all risks.

The Governor showed his wisdom in his selection and appointment of magistrates. In that lay to a great extent the secret of the subsequent success of his system. "The civil service of the country has never since held such a high tone and character in the eyes of the natives, or been held in such high esteem and respect as it did under the *régime* of Sir George Grey.

"Our main hope and power, however, in carrying out the policy of Sir George Grey lay in the councillors; and Sir George Grey wisely foresaw this, hence his instructions. Through the instrumentality

of the councillors, a great revolution was quietly, unostentatiously, but surely to be effected in the future management and government of the natives; and without their aid the wise and far-sighted policy of Sir George Grey would have been a complete failure.

"By kindness and firmness Sir George Grey disarmed the other chiefs and tribes of their opposition, and the diplomatic barque of a great and wise man was fairly launched in 1856.

"The instructions of Sir George Grey were that we were to treat the councillors or headmen in such a manner as to win them from their chiefs to the Government, and by their instrumentality win the people to us, and overthrow the chiefs who had always been such a source of anxiety, danger, and loss to the whole country and to the Imperial Government.

"Suffice it to say that the power of the chiefs has been completely and for ever broken.

"The people themselves are happy and contented under the altered state of affairs. Our government pleases them immensely, and they are very much pleased with the change, and at being relieved from the unjust tyranny of the chiefs. Many and warm are the thanks which are offered to Sir George Grey by the old people who know how this revolution was brought about."*

Mr. Chalmers goes on to say that the Government had adopted this system and enforced it in the Transkei, Tembuland, and East Griqualand, where it was working well; "but would work better if Sir George Grey's care was followed in the selection of officers, and if the officers were allowed the same freedom, and allowed to use their brains as was allowed to his officers by Sir George."

Speaking with sorrow of the loss South Africa

* Letter, Nov. 3rd, 1886 W. B. Chalmers to Dr. Fitzgerald.

sustained when Sir George Grey left, Mr. Chalmers writes that the constant idea in the native mind, is, "If he had remained with us how many more advantages and good results would we not be enjoying now under his wise rule? He understood us, and understood what sort of government was necessary for us."

Sir George Grey selected Colonel Gawler and Pomeroy Colley, believing them to be capable men, and to their assistance he owes much. Colonel Maclean, Chief Commissioner in British Kaffraria, also helped the Governor thoroughly, although differing in opinion from him as to the wisdom of many of his steps.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE GREY HOSPITAL.

"Heaven doth with us as we with torches do ;
Not light them for themselves ; for if our virtues
Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not."

Measure for Measure.

"It would take a volume to describe all the ramifications of witchcraft among the native tribes, and the evil it works both socially and politically. It was Sir George Grey's policy to have hospitals for the natives all over the country, and thus win the people from their witch-doctors and overthrow witchcraft. But unfortunately Sir George Grey did not remain long enough in the country to carry out this part of his policy. A beginning was made with the Grey Hospital, and there you have been, single-handed, doing battle with a great enemy ; the forces which were to be at your disposal in the shape of smaller hospitals all over the country have never been forthcoming. But you have held your ground. Witchcraft is now never practised publicly. The Grey Hospital is always crowded with natives from all parts of the country ; these take back to their friends the news of the cures which are effected. The eyes of the natives are becoming opened. They see the reality and the honesty and success of our way of treating diseases, and their faith in witchcraft is being terribly shaken.

"If the Grey Hospital single-handed, has done so much good, and has brought about such a revolution in the minds of the natives regarding witchcraft, we can imagine what a good and glorious thing it would have been had good Sir George Grey been permitted to dot similar institutions all over the country. My old chief, good, dear Colonel Maclean, had every reason to shout out in his enthusiastic and cheery manner, 'Grey is great, and Fitzgerald is his witch-doctor.'"*

The troops hitherto so actively engaged were idle. There remained no enemies against whom to employ them. It was advisable to find some task upon which they might enter. The Governor now recognised an opportunity for breaking the power of the Kafir witch doctors. To extirpate this class by force was impossible, because fresh pretenders rose to fill the places of those who died or were driven away. Sir George Grey saw that the only cure for the superstitions of the native races was knowledge. He believed that if he could train the young Kafir chiefs to an acquaintance with medical science, and give them some general education, the power of the fetish would be destroyed.

He seized the opportunity which now presented itself. The army should conquer the witch doctors.

In years long past, when a student at Sandhurst, Grey had delighted in roaming over the country between the college and Windsor. In that district there is perhaps the most perfect Roman camp in England. Cæsar had, possibly, in person watched over its construction, and his legions had found a temporary home within its walls. The massive earthworks and regular lines which have survived in almost perfect form

* W. B. Chalmers to Dr. Fitzgerald. Nov. 3rd, 1886.

through nineteen centuries, testify at once to the skill and strength of its builders. Many a time, when standing in this still nearly perfect camp, the young soldier had gone back in fancy to the olden times and seen the place instinct with military life. He could hear the clang of the trumpet, and see the stately warriors of old Rome marshalled in their cohorts and legions. The ground trembled beneath the tread of the great host as it marched past him and went forth to do battle with the native tribes. More than once on such occasions, when these visions faded, and he stood—an English lad, alone in the solitude once so full of life—he grieved that the only memorials left behind that army were the crumbling ramparts of their strongholds, the ashes of their dead, and a memory of strife and conquest. He dreamed that at some future day, in the course of the life upon which he was entering, it might be possible that he would aid an English army in leaving behind it in some new land a nobler token of its presence.

Now in this distant wilderness the recollection of Cæsar's camp came back to him. The English legions had visited this part of the earth. Were they to leave nothing behind them but a fort or two and their dead? Ever on the watch for useful projects, he determined that at least one memorial worthy of the fame of an English army should be bequeathed to the land and its people.

Causing the plans of a great hospital to be prepared, he employed the military forces in its construction. The Kafirs quarried stones. The military waggons carted them to the site prepared. The sappers dug the trenches for foundations. The soldiers laid the stones in solid tiers.

No stranger sight was ever seen—no more beautiful thought ever conceived. Hands accustomed to the

rifle and the sabre plied the chisel and the trowel. Organisation and discipline attained for service in war now became suddenly enlisted in a work of mercy. Many hands made light work. Encouraged by extra pay, amused and interested by such an uncommon application of military organisation, permeated with the kindling of a strange sympathy in the noble idea of the Governor, the whole army, officers and men, horse, foot and artillery, worked with a will. Not in silence, as the temple of Jerusalem reared itself, did the hospital rise up; but with laughter, with merry songs, with rough jokes, and with zealous toil the work progressed. It is strange that no artist has ever yet portrayed that marvellous scene. The military camp, the rising walls of the mighty building, the long trains of waggons carrying stones from the distant quarry and timber from the forest, the engineer officers studying the plans, the host of workers scattered in their various places of toil, each and all aiding in the common task, would make a picture of renown.

Difficulties were met and overcome. Step by step the building progressed. At length the last stone was laid, the last nail driven, and complete and beautiful, the hospital opened its doors to receive patients and to impart instruction. The venture was successful beyond hope. Thousands upon thousands of sufferers have been there received and healed. Numbers of native youths have been taught there the simple rules of medical skill, and the falsehood of the pretenders to witchcraft.

It has ever been a powerful lever to civilise the barbarians. It is now surrounded by a magnificent park and pleasure grounds. Prompted by gratitude and affection, a grateful government has within the last ten years, enacted that the building shall be

known as the "Grey Hospital," while to the spacious park in which it stands, Her Majesty has been pleased to give her own loved name.

While in New Zealand Sir George had made the acquaintance of Dr. Fitzgerald. The Governor had been struck by the completeness of organising power developed by this gentleman. To him he determined to commit the care of this first institution, and the commencement of this great experiment. His intention was to erect hospitals in different parts of South Africa.

To Dr. Fitzgerald, then, Sir George Grey wrote, inviting him to South Africa to undertake the charge of the hospital at King Williamstown. The Doctor readily assented, and to this day, for upwards of thirty years, his presence and his singular adaptability for the position thus offered and accepted, have been an unmitigated blessing to the whole land.

Some natives, who were kindly shown over the Grey Hospital by Dr. Fitzgerald, were very much struck with the fact that natives were treated there exactly the same as Europeans, had the same wards, the same clothes, beds, food, etc. When these natives, who came from a distant territory, were told that it was all the doing of a good Governor, Sir George Grey, who had intended to build similar institutions throughout the land, their chief, Makaula, was very much impressed, and returned again to his informant to ask whether it would not be possible to induce Sir George to return to carry on the work in which he was most anxious to join, adding that he should like to lift the Grey Hospital bodily and plant it in his own country.

Mr. Chalmers concludes a very interesting letter (to Dr. Fitzgerald) by saying that when future historians trace out and record how the great power of the chiefs

was overthrown, and how the people came to be entirely under British control and management, and how also it came about that the witch-doctors, who used to possess such tremendous and dreadful powers, became harmless amongst their own people, and how witchcraft was abolished, they will have to record that all this was brought about by the wise and far-sighted policy of Sir George Grey, and his name will be handed down to posterity as the best Governor the Colony and country has ever had.

Dr. Fitzgerald having received many flattering notices of a pamphlet he published on hospital management, and being much complimented on his management of the institution, wrote to Sir George Grey that he felt all the praise was really given to him (Sir George Grey), the originator of the work. "We together have witnessed wonderful times during the cattle killing. How wonderfully our good God humbled this proud nation at your feet. To Him be the first honour and glory; to you, dear Sir George, next. I am your child and faithful servant, nothing more." General Gordon used often to go and chat with him, and thought very highly of the hospital.

Dr. Fitzgerald continues: "You know it was my strong affection for you which made me throw up my position in Wellington to follow you here, and when you left I would have gone back to New Zealand if I could. The Irish heart does not forget kindness, and such kindness and honour as you showed me." In 1886 he writes that by the end of the year, "about one hundred and eleven thousand patients will have passed through this institution since it was established, and about two hundred blind people have been sent back to their friends with restored sight." He goes on to explain that this does not show the amount of work that had been done every day, as of course

patients would only have their names entered once, though they might continue coming for weeks.

"This year (1886), besides the indoor cases, over 5,000 fresh dispensing cases from all parts of the colony and the frontiers have received medical aid here. It is surprising what long distances they travel by waggon and on foot to seek medical aid here. This is very gratifying."

He says, "Why don't you write 'My Government of South Africa'? What an interesting and useful book it would be with the *Wonderful Prophecy*. All the institutions you establish here are working so well. The magistrates among the tribes, and in Basutoland Colonel Clerk appears by his wonderful tact and patience to be bringing back the chiefs to a state of tranquillity. You would do good amongst both Dutch and English, and allay a feeling of want of confidence between both races, your name is so revered. I pray God to inspire you to do what is His holy will. He gave me a friend and kind patron in you. We have worked together in wonderful times here, and if we have passed through severe trials we have had our consolations.—Ever, my dear Sir George, your grateful and affectionate servant,

"J. P. FITZGERALD."

By the end of 1890 over 130,000 cases had been treated in the Grey Hospital.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE KAFIR PROPHETESS AND THE "WONDERFUL PROPHIECY."

"All these woes shall serve
For sweet discourses in the time to come."

Romeo and Juliet.

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

Hamlet.

THE Kafir chiefs became now convinced that they must act decisively, or this new Governor with his strange institutions would certainly destroy their power. The Governor heard that all the Kafir chiefs were leaguings together to invade the colony at various points at the same time. He heard, also, a report so astounding and unprecedented, that he could scarcely give it credence. It was said that in order to ensure a desperate attack upon the European settlements, most of the chiefs had promised themselves and induced their people to promise to destroy their crops, cattle, pigs, sheep, fowls, and all other food. The barbarians were thus to be driven by famine to invade our territories. Behind them would be a barren desert, in front the land of promise. The fields, the crops, the bread of the English, they must have, or starve. As they numbered 200,000 souls, of whom about 60,000 were men, it was evident if these reports were true, that a colossal and appalling tragedy was imminent.

Sir George Grey at once proceeded to the Kafir country and saw the Kafir leaders. The tidings were true. He pointed out the fact that they were only injuring themselves, and indeed committing suicide; but argument was useless. They said that a prophetess, a girl reputed among the tribes as knowing the mind of the fates, had prophesied that it was the will of their deities that this sacrifice should be made, and that they should obtain tenfold from the English in the day of victory.

The proofs of her claim to supernatural knowledge were to the Kafir mind beyond dispute. To her eyes were revealed secrets hidden from the gaze of ordinary mortals. To her ears were spoken words which none else could hear, or hearing, understand. In the silent watches of the night, when others slept, shadowy guides conducted her to strange and wonderful scenes. For her the secret passage which led beneath the waters of the great lake was opened by the lifting of a hidden door. To that subterranean world she was welcomed by the mighty dead. Chiefs long since mouldered into dust, whose names alone remained as the heritage of their descendants, there appeared and spoke to her of the coming strife, and of its glorious ending—if the people were but faithful. Beneath the placid waters she beheld, far as the eye could reach, wide and fruitful fields. Upon these green pastures fed countless herds of cattle, larger and more beautiful than any she had ever seen upon earth's surface.

She was told that she must listen to the counsels of the departed, so that she might speak to the people now alive the wisdom of the unseen world. Chief after chief had spoken; wielding the arms once borne in the van of battle each ancestor of the tribes gave his voice for the instruction and warning of his people. The warriors were to arm; the cattle and crops of food

of the people were to be destroyed by a fixed day. The whole nation, thus deprived of all means of support and sustenance, was to move upon the invading strangers without hesitation and without fear, and all would be well. Not only should victory crown their arms, and the rich farms, flocks, and herds of the white man be theirs by conquest, but the cattle now seen by the inspired girl-prophet, and all the splendour which the living dead revealed to her, should be theirs also.

On Wednesday, the 18th of February, 1857—"When the sun rose in the morning, after wandering for a time in the heavens, it was to set again in the east. A hurricane was to sweep from the earth all who would not believe in the revelation, European or Kafir. Then the ancestors of the Kafirs were to rise from the dead, with countless herds of cattle of a noble breed, and with quantities of plunder of every description, all of which were to be shared out among the followers of the prophetess, who were at the same time to be restored to youth and endowed with beauty."*

As with kindling eyes and inspired bearing the girl told to the astonished crowd the wonderful stories of her interviews with the dead, a frenzy seized upon her hearers, and impelled them onward in the course she pointed out. Old chiefs, whose prudence suggested caution, questioned her closely as to the appearance and words of the departed heroes who had met her in the shadowy land beneath the lake. To their astonishment, every question was correctly answered. The arms borne by each respectively, the peculiar expressions known, or believed, to have been used by each, the personal appearance, the very scars and wounds received in battle, were described minutely, but with unerring accuracy, by this female seer.

* "History of South Africa."—J. Noble.

To such evidence it was impossible to refuse belief. Some of the heads of tribes and families knew the power of the English, and dreaded the result. But the spell of the mysterious influence was too strong even for the timid or the wise. When the prophetess, from her trance-like calmness, leaped up to speak, the wild grandeur of her appearance and the glowing passion of her words carried away the people like a torrent, and with one consent the Kafir tribes obeyed.

Perhaps there never was a more remarkable illustration of the overwhelming power of popular belief, however erroneous, than this episode in the history of South Africa. Were it not that the records are beyond doubt or suspicion, and vouched by the bodies of thousands who perished by famine, it would be difficult to believe that solely in reliance on the ravings of a demented girl a whole nation should destroy its means of subsistence, and enter upon a desperate war. Compared with this, the burning of their ships by the Greeks before Troy is but feeble and trifling.

Sir George Grey received from time to time news of these strange proceedings. Without undue haste or apparent anxiety he made all the necessary military preparations.

The frontier to be defended was vast in extent, nor did he know where the attack might be delivered. Directing General Mitchell to take up a line of posts, he himself proceeded beyond the limits of the British territory, and visited in person localities and people already under the sway of the prophetess. His person was sacred, at any rate until war was actually commenced, and he was acquainted with every chief of note throughout Kaffraria. No stone was left unturned in his efforts to expose the folly of which the tribes were guilty. In plain and vigorous lan-

guage the Governor pointed out the fatal nature of the steps already being taken, and the certainty that the order for destruction would not be universally obeyed, and when famine came those still retaining cattle and food would be pillaged, and thus civil war and mutual strife would arise among themselves; whilst their efforts against the English would be vain. It was useless. Every breeze bore the stench of slaughtered cattle, every day beheld the mounting wreaths of smoke from burning kraals; already, before a solitary blow had been struck, famine began to weaken the strongest, and the hand of death to weed out the feeble and the young.

Meanwhile the mountain passes and the river fords were jealously guarded, and the last line of frontier diligently patrolled.

At last the crisis came. Maddened by excitement, the Kafir tribes determined to attack. General Mitchell, anxious for the safety of his widely dispersed forces, made the preparations necessary for falling back upon a more central and concentrated line upon the Fish River. The Governor was still in the Kafir country, attended only by his guard. Before making any backward movement, General Mitchell wrote to him stating his anxiety and his intentions. The messenger reached Sir George's camp at night. The Governor was aroused, the General's note was at once read. This proposed retreat was in the Governor's judgment the very worst and most dangerous step which could be taken. He was not, therefore, called upon to deliberate. He answered the General's letter by a positive command to hold every position, and on no account to show the barbarians in any place a retreating foe. Sir George Grey in his final letter, written on March, 1857, after sketching his own plans, thus speaks:—

If war takes place, I believe that this line of proceeding will be the proper one: but I am, moreover, quite satisfied that our maintaining at the present time that bold and resolute front, which I am determined shall be maintained (and in which view of the case I am sure the Lieutenant-General, Sir J. Jackson, will thoroughly and heartily concur with me), will go very far towards preventing a war, and compelling the Kaffirs to respect an enemy who, they will see, is thoroughly prepared to meet them.—Yours, etc.

G. GREY.

On this occasion his message was short and decisive. In half an hour the messenger had vanished, the Governor had resumed his slumbers, and the conduct of the expected war was settled.

Sir George Grey returned, but, while returning, struck an effective blow. By a clever combination of secret movements, skilfully executed, and with great daring, he captured the two or three principal chiefs, and thus broke the neck of the confederacy. The Kaffirs, with no one to lead the intended invasion, began to starve. Pale death reigned there in dreadful silence. It is said that fifty thousand Kaffirs died of starvation. Their villages became vast charnel houses, and stank with unburied corpses.

Then came into full play the wisdom and humanity of the Governor. Far and wide he despatched relief parties, and rescued the remnants of the tribes from destruction. Thirty-four thousand of them he brought into the Cape, and distributed them among the colonists, as servants for specified terms of years and for specified wages. For the remainder he built villages, surveyed fields, provided food, implements, seeds, and cattle, and settled them in British Kaffraria in well-ordered communities.

Pursuing his usual method with regard to native peoples, Sir George found employment for the Kaffirs on various public works. As no one had ever before

succeeded in this, and as regular work was utterly repugnant to the soul of a Kafir, great surprise was felt when the plan worked well. Still more astonishing was it when the Governor made the natives pay taxes. The Kafirs themselves were as much astonished as other people at the remarkable power of the man who had brought about two such changes, as the following little incident shows :

At a great gathering of the natives, Sir George noticed the women wearing a large number of brass ornaments on their legs. He pointed out the folly of wasting their wages in such an extravagant way, but was answered by one of the chiefs, who rose and told the Governor that he must remember there were limits to human power. "Rest content, O great chief," said he, "with what you have accomplished. You have made us pay taxes. You have made our people work. These things we thought could never be. But think not you can stop women wearing ornaments. If you try to do this, O Governor, you will most surely fail."

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE INDIAN MUTINY AND THE CHINA ARMY.

“Till old experience do attain
To something like prophetic strain.”
Milton.

EARLY in August, 1857, when the Kafir outbreak had but just subsided, and the survivors were scarcely settled in their new homes and locations in British Kaffraria, the Governor was surprised by the visit of a steamer from Bombay, bearing an important message from Lord Elphinstone. He received an urgent despatch which contained the tidings of the terrible outbreak in India. It detailed the rising at Meerut, the fall of Delhi, and conveyed with startling plainness of language, the belief of Lord Elphinstone and his Council, that in a short space of time the whole of the native forces in Central India would be in revolt.

No time was lost after the receipt of this momentous letter. There was in Table Bay a man-of-war. There were also two or three ships available for transports. The nearest troops were mustered and prepared for embarkation. Two batteries of the Royal Artillery were sent on board ship. A large quantity of ammunition and military stores were shipped. Horses also were procured. Within three days the man-of-war and transports sailed, and a commence-

ment had been made towards the assistance of India which proved invaluable.

It was a singular coincidence that within a few days of the receipt of Lord Elphinstone's despatch, transports containing a portion of the army then being sent to Lord Elgin to act in conjunction with the French in China, arrived at Simon's Bay. Knowing something of the character of Lord Elphinstone, and being alive to the necessity under such circumstances of immediate action, Sir George did not hesitate to take upon himself extreme responsibility in the crisis which had arisen. He invited the officer in command, the gallant Colonel Adrian Hope, to Government House, and laid before him the despatch which he had received from Bombay. He then urged upon his consideration the advisability of a change in the intended line of the voyage which should enable the troops to report themselves at Calcutta, so that their services might be available in Bengal, if the calamity which threatened India were as serious as he believed.

The commanding officer was not disposed to disobey his own orders. A treaty had been made with France, by which the armed forces of both powers were to co-operate against the Chinese Government. Should the French at once take an aggressive position, and the English troops by delay fail to appear in their support, a grave misunderstanding would be caused; and should any unforeseen disaster to the French arms thus arise, the officer held that he would be certainly subjected to censure.

The Governor allowed due weight to the arguments used, but again strongly pressed the immediate peril of the British Government in India as giving a just reason for any delay which might necessarily ensue. Finally, he decided that, possessing full powers as

Governor and High Commissioner in that portion of the continent, it was his duty to afford all possible assistance to the cause of Great Britain in India, and that he should require the officers commanding the various vessels conveying troops to China to report themselves at Calcutta, leaving upon them the responsibility of refusing.

In his belief a new and unparalleled event had taken place in the history of the empire, which threatened disasters it was impossible to over-estimate. He held that in the presence of such an emergency all precedents regulating the proceedings of the troops had become obsolete and inapplicable, and that it behoved the officers holding high powers in every part of the empire who could aid in such an emergency, at once to frame rules suited to the crisis which had arisen, and to act upon them.

Besides this, the voyage to Calcutta would only take them a few days' sail from Singapore, which lay in their direct route. The deviation would make no material difference in the time of their arrival in China if the service in India did not require them.

This settled the matter. The military officers required from Sir George Grey his command in writing for this deviation from their orders in London, to authorise their voyage to Calcutta. The commands were given. The responsibility, though great, was willingly accepted by Sir George Grey; and the various officers, who, led by Colonel Hope, nobly acquiesced, set sail with the troops. A swift steamer was sent to cruise to and fro for any other transports conveying the China army which might be passing the Cape, to communicate the same orders, and to inform the officers that their comrades had preceded them to the Hooghley.

This reinforcement, in the words of Lord Malmes-

bury, "probably saved India." * At the same time Sir George Grey sent a letter of apology and explanation to Lord Elgin, to which, however, he received no answer. These were the troops which arrived in India in time to enable Sir Colin Campbell to relieve Havelock at Lucknow. Had they been allowed to pass the Cape and to go on upon their voyage to China, Sir Colin Campbell would have been unable to make his celebrated march, Havelock and his forces would have shared the fate of General Wheeler at Cawnpore, and India must either have been abandoned or reconquered.

When the first detachment of the China army reached Calcutta, Lord Elgin was at Singapore waiting for the passage of his troops to the land of the Celestials. It is said that while at dinner one evening with his staff, a man-of-war commanded by Captain Peel came into the harbour, bringing despatches from the Governor-General. Probably Sir George Grey's letter was amongst them. He thus learned that his troops, without his authority, were already mustering under Sir Colin Campbell for the relief of Havelock. Lord Elgin rose from the table, and retiring, read his correspondence. For two or three hours he was heard walking to and fro on the balcony. He then went on board with Captain Peel, and steamed up the Bay of Bengal. He subsequently gave cordial assistance to Lord Canning.

The excitement in England when the tidings of the mutiny arrived was intense. Every movement was scanned with breathless interest. Lord Malmesbury, in his memoirs, thus writes :—"No † instructions had

* "Memoirs of an ex-Minister," by Lord Malmesbury, vol. ii., p. 25.

† The word "No" is evidently a misprint, as the sense of the succeeding clause and the whole passage is opposed to it.

been transmitted to the Indian Government directing that the troops embarked for China should be employed in India, and the Governor-General had sent his orders to Ceylon to direct the forces on their arrival there to proceed to India. He had sent a requisition to Lord Elgin to despatch troops, but Lord Elgin had no instructions to comply. Whether he would deem the case so pressing as to induce him to do so on his own responsibility remains to be seen."

In a foot-note, Lord Malmesbury writes of the answer to this appeal:—"Lord Elgin, to his eternal honour, complied with Lord Canning's request, and this accidental reinforcement probably saved India."

No public mention was made of the fact that this timely and invaluable aid was rendered, not in the first instance by Lord Elgin, but by the exercise of a great responsibility on the part of Sir George Grey. On the 7th August, while the troops were just starting for Calcutta, Sir George transmitted a despatch to Mr. Labouchere, fully recounting the whole of the circumstances, and trusting that the extraordinary steps he had taken would meet with the approval of the Queen. Not only was he able to state that he had taken upon himself to send Lord Elgin's army to India, he also informed the Ministry that he had sent with them the Royal Artillery, fully horsed, great quantities of military stores, and sixty thousand pounds in specie from the Cape Treasury, besides a number of horses for cavalry and artillery. In the same despatch he informed Mr. Labouchere that he should take immediate steps to afford still further substantial assistance to Her Majesty's Government in India, and that the people at the Cape were eager to assist in every way possible. In due course he received the following private acknowledgment from Mr. Labouchere in correspondence:—

October 16th, 1857.

My dear Sir,—I have just received your private letter, as well as your despatch of the 7th of August. I have read with the greatest satisfaction the account you give of the prompt and energetic measures which you have adopted to assist the Indian Government in the present crisis of their affairs. I am confident that Her Majesty and my colleagues will fully appreciate the zeal and public spirit with which you have acted on this occasion.

I have not yet had time to read your despatch with care, but as some opportunity may occur for sending this note to you before I finally answer it, I have thought it best at once to write.

The account you give of the feelings and behaviour of the colonists is most gratifying.—Always yours sincerely,

W. LABOUCHERE.

The accounts which we have received from India speak with the utmost gratitude of your exertions in their behalf.

October 20th, 1857.

My dear Sir,—In writing to me on the subject of your last despatch, the Queen has commanded me to express to you in a private letter “her high personal appreciation of your services, and her gratification at the loyalty of her subjects at the Cape.” You will at the same time receive Her Majesty’s approbation of the measures you have adopted in an official form.—Always yours sincerely,

W. LABOUCHERE.

Long before the receipt of the Queen’s acknowledgment of his services, the Governor had added materially to the aid which he had already afforded to Lord Canning. Knowing that artillery and cavalry would be necessary, he purchased and despatched from time to time all the available horses at the Cape; for this purpose dismounting much of his own cavalry and sending his artillery horses, as well as the horses from his own private stables, and from those of many colonists who were eager to give assistance. Great stores of food for the men and for the cattle, and large

quantities of ammunition and military material, were despatched to India in a continuous stream.

This was all done without any authority from the Home Government, and simply upon Sir George Grey's own belief that it was necessary for the safety of the empire.

These active measures were watched with the keenest interest and delight by Her Majesty and the Prince Consort. In a letter to Mr. C. J. McCarthy on the 24th of October, 1857, Lord Houghton writes :

"I hear the Queen is in great admiration of Sir George Grey at the Cape, having sent his carriage horses to India and going afoot." * What the Queen really admired was the whole conduct of the Governor, the troops, the horses, the specie, the artillery and the munitions of war, the China army, and the continued reinforcements of every kind, sent in the face of the evident disbelief of Lord Canning in their necessity or the gravity of the crisis which had arisen in India, and in spite of his assertions that he wanted nothing but a few horses, and that it was a mistake to suppose the outbreak a mutiny.

Ministers in London said nothing. They regarded coldly the efforts made by the Governor at the Cape. The Queen and Prince Albert alone perceived and appreciated the value of the services rendered by Sir George Grey. Yet these steps were taken against the advice of the Governor-General, and at a fearful personal risk.

He had now been nearly three years in South Africa. He had become well acquainted with the necessities and desires of its different races, and he knew by experience the methods of government likely to succeed. His word was law. In his good

* "Life, Letters and Friendships of R. M. Milnes, first Lord Houghton." Vol. II., p. 28.

faith the native chiefs placed implicit confidence. None dared to oppose his will for two reasons. That will was certain to be properly directed, and seemed always victorious. At this tremendous crisis in Eastern affairs, Grey resolved to trust to his own personal influence for the maintenance of government in South Africa, and to despatch, squadron by squadron, nearly the whole of his military forces for the restoration of our supremacy in Hindostan. Before acting upon such a resolution he determined to take into his confidence the great native chiefs, to enlist their sympathy, and to obtain from them assurances that peace should be preserved on all his frontiers.

He immediately started upon a visit to the headquarters of the different chiefs, to lay before them his plans, for he felt convinced, that if, upon a full statement of the facts, they gave a solemn assurance of fidelity, no evil results need be feared. He traversed those vast and wild regions by night and day. More than once, travelling at night, he slept in the saddle, closely supported on either side by orderlies told off for the purpose.

Many and varied were the interesting scenes which he witnessed. He climbed the well-nigh inaccessible heights of Thaba-Bosigo to see the great chief Moshesh. The old warrior was ill in bed. His chiefs and head men were called together, and the Governor was ushered in. A huge wooden four-post bedstead, carted from one of the frontier towns with great trouble, nearly filled the small room in which Moshesh lay. Propped up with pillows, and wrapped in blankets, the Basuto chief welcomed the Governor. His council sat round on the immense bedstead, or squatted on the floor.

After the welcomes had been finished, Sir George

Grey entered on the subject of his visit. He told his audience of the mutiny in India, of the necessity which existed for immediate assistance being given there to the government of the Queen. He told them plainly and frankly of his own fixed resolution to send every man and horse that could be spared out of Africa, and he asked an assurance from Moshesh and his chiefs that they would loyally assist him to maintain order and to preserve peace. The African chief was cunning as well as brave, but with Sir George Grey he felt that he could speak unreservedly. He gave the Governor, therefore, an absolute assurance of his friendship, and assented without hesitation to the propositions made. His chiefs followed in the same strain.

Thus at the different kraals and strongholds of the native tribes Sir George obtained promises of sympathy, and in some of assistance. Not one of these promises was broken. South Africa, which for thirty years had been a scene of commotion, of tumult, and of strife, saw the withdrawal of the armed forces of the crown without one solitary rising against the authority of the stranger. For many years after Sir George Grey left the shores of Africa profound peace remained there. Only after the lapse of nearly twenty years, when at last his policy was broken, and the rules laid down by him disobeyed, disturbances again commenced, and the fires of war were relighted.

Thus all South Africa reposed peacefully while the desperate struggle was proceeding in Bengal, and tribes once savage in their hatred of the English Government gave the great Queen and her Governor their sympathy.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the cares inseparable from the government of troublesome South Africa had to be borne, besides those great peculiar

burdens, which added their weight to the ordinary tasks of the Governor's daily life. Teaching and training mixed communities of Dutch, English, and natives in the forms of representative government and free institutions, promoting and fostering education and all philanthropic plans, never ceasing in the prosecution of scientific research and of literary attainments, free in hospitality and abounding in charitable deeds, Sir George Grey's name and memory stamp themselves in the history of South Africa.

The most serious obstacles both to his success and happiness arose from the actions of the Imperial Government. With that dogged and ignorant persistence of opposition which the War Office and the Colonial Office had so frequently shown to great plans and wise proposals, the officials in Downing Street and Pall Mall continued to thwart Sir George Grey, to administer severe rebukes, always undeserved, to limit unjustly his means of usefulness, and to break solemn promises made to him and the colonists, upon the faith of which serious responsibilities had been incurred by the settlers themselves.

During the height of the excitement attendant upon the mutiny, several chiefs of Wanganui and other tribes in New Zealand, wrote to Sir George offering to raise one or two regiments of Maoris for service in India. Their request was forwarded by him to London, together with his opinion upon it. Sir George had no hesitation in advising Her Majesty's Government to accept the service of the New Zealanders. He based his counsel on several grounds. They were excellent fighting men—every Maori was a born soldier. They would become, by service in India, firm in their loyalty. The survivors, receiving decorations and military pensions, would naturally cling to the government of the Queen in case of disturbances in New

Zealand. And the Governor reminded Ministers that the Maoris being essentially fond of war, and their tribal conflicts having been stopped by the Government, unless they were enabled to expend their warlike energies in our service, they might possibly turn them against ourselves.

The result was not what the chiefs desired—nor was it what Sir George Grey expected. A decided refusal was given to the proposition, and Ministers drew a parallel between the suggested employment of Maoris in India and that historic employment of the Red Indians against the colonists of America, which had roused the righteous anger of the great Chatham in his dying hours. The words of the Governor were prophetic. In four years the great Maori war had commenced.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE GERMAN LEGION.

“Life, when it is real, is not evanescent : is not slight : does not vanish away. Every noble life leaves the fibre of it interwoven for ever in the work of the world ; by so much evermore the strength of the human race has gained ; more stubborn in the root, higher towards heaven in the branch.”—*Ruskin*.

DURING the American and Continental wars at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, Great Britain had retained the services of considerable bodies of German and other Continental troops. These had at length become a permanent part of the British army, under the name of the German Legion. The existence of this foreign element had become obnoxious, and it was finally determined to get rid of it. This was done ; but during the Russian war Baron von Stutterheim proposed to the Government again to raise a German Legion. The offer was accepted, and then with the consent of Parliament a new force was raised, principally from the German seaports, for this particular war.

At the close of the campaign these men were moved to England and placed in quarters. They feared to return to their native towns lest they should be punished. Some of them were almost necessarily lawless and violent characters, possessing the materials for good soldiers, but likely to be very troublesome in

English towns and villages. Troubles soon threatened to arise between them and the English population amongst whom they lived. The question, What was to be done with these men? demanded an immediate answer.

At length the Government, after numerous schemes had been discussed, proposed to the Cape Legislature that the men of the German Legion should become military settlers at the Cape, kept enrolled for service in Kaffraria, with separate houses and pieces of land for their officers and for themselves. Their military training would be useful in case of war, and they would unite the wealth-producing capacity of labour with the security of a military guard.

Sir George Grey was instructed to invite the acquiescence of the Cape Parliament. He did so. Correspondence ensued upon the subject. The Cape people, remembering that the great majority of these soldiers were unmarried, required a guarantee that they should be accompanied or immediately followed by German families containing sufficient numbers of young women among whom they could find wives, and thus become permanent and successful colonists. Sir George was instructed to give the necessary pledge to this effect to the Colonial Legislature. This also he did. In all good faith, the Cape Parliament then consented.

The German Legion were sent to Africa, but the promise of the English Government that they should be accompanied or followed by German families and young women was not fulfilled. The proportion of females actually sent by Government only amounted to about one to eight of the soldiers, who were settled over a long line of frontier, extending from East London to a point near Queenstown.

Seeing that the promises made by the Home Govern-

ment were broken, the Legislature at the Cape represented to the Governor that it was the duty of the English Government to carry out their contract with the colony. Correspondence was entered into between the Cape and Downing Street. All efforts to induce the Colonial Office and the War Office to redeem their solemn pledges were vain. Evasive replies, denials of responsibility, repudiation of covenants entered into at the request of Her Majesty's Ministers, were the only result. Downing Street refused to perform its part of the bargain and to send the German families to South Africa.

Meanwhile, large numbers of the disbanded soldiers had been located. Among them, some were unable to find employment—some were unwilling to work. The German Legion, though including many able men and skilful and excellent officers, had on occasions been recruited from the rougher classes of Continental towns. Without homes, therefore, and without the opportunity of making homes and becoming married men, many of these formed a floating and unsettled population, whose members caused anxiety in many parts of the frontier. Thrown back upon his own devices, Sir George Grey resolved to attempt the fulfilment of the Imperial promises, through the Government of British Kaffraria. In August 1857, as High Commissioner in that province, he entered into a contract with a German merchant of Capetown, M. William Berg, and through him with the eminent firm of Godeffroi in Hamburg, for the introduction of German families, numbering in all four thousand souls, at certain specified rates.

The Government of Kaffraria was to pay for the passage of these emigrants by debentures. Land was to be provided for the new colonists at a certain fixed price, and in fixed quantities for men, women and

children. Houses were to be built, and all necessary implements and rations for twelve months supplied. Interest upon this expenditure was to be charged and ultimately paid, together with the principal, by each of the colonists. The emigrants were to repay to the Government of Kaffraria the cost of their passages and the cost of the land, one-fifth after four years, and the remainder spread over equal terms of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth years after landing in the colony. By these means the Governor trusted to neutralise the disastrous consequences arising from the failure of the Home Government to send out families to accompany the men of the Legion. Stringent conditions as to character and physical capacity were also attached to the examination of these intending emigrants.

The contracts were duly made, and amidst great rejoicings, the first batch of German colonists was landed at East London. The success of this new venture filled the Governor with delight. The marriageable women among the new comers were eagerly sought for, the families themselves became rapidly settled in their new homes, and the simple and common-sense expedient adopted, seemed destined to turn many of the roving and unsettled Germans into peaceful and prosperous colonists.

Suddenly the Governor and the Cape Parliament were astounded by the receipt of a despatch from Downing Street, refusing to allow the introduction of any more foreign families, on the ground that it was contrary to national policy. In a spirited and dignified reply, Sir George Grey answered Lord Stanley's despatch, drawing the noble lord's attention to the circumstances under which the German Legion had been admitted to the Cape Colony. Sir George stated that, "In the clearest language they had pledged

themselves to the colony that if it would receive the German Legion, containing so many doubtful characters, it should be accompanied here by a large proportion of females. I, the Queen's Representative, acting under the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, repeated formally this pledge to the Colonial Legislature. It was, however, not fulfilled, and in consequence, serious evils threatened, still threaten, and in fact have in part fallen on South Africa. I saw that I could retrieve this misfortune at no expense to Great Britain, and I strove to do it."

The original proposition made by the Imperial Government was that eight thousand soldiers of the German Legion should be accompanied by wives and families, which would have made a population of upwards of twenty thousand. The national policy, therefore, enunciated by the Home authorities, was distinctly a limited German colonisation, upon the faith of which the Cape Legislature had given its assent. Communications between the Cape and Downing Street became somewhat bitter, until at last Sir George Grey having had to point out in several instances the mistakes and contradictions of the Colonial Office, Sir E. B. Lytton, who had succeeded Lord Stanley as Colonial Secretary, wrote on the 1st of October, 1858: "There can, of course, be no doubt that the meaning of the passage was such as you have explained."

The German immigration was partially completed and eminently successful. Different parties arrived in the years 1858 and 1859. An Emigration Board was formed, which reported most favourably on the immigrants, and aided them in settling in their new homes.

Upon Sir George Grey's recall to England in 1859, another phase of this question appeared. He was

summoned from his breakfast table one morning in London to see a gentleman who had just arrived from the Continent upon urgent business. This visitor proved to be a leading member of the firm of Godeffroi & Co. That great house was receiving payment for the equipment and passage of the German emigrants in debentures of British Kaffraria. It found those debentures unsaleable upon the market, in consequence of the stern disapproval of the English Government. This gentleman had, therefore, come to London for the sole purpose of informing Sir George Grey that Godeffroi & Co. must obtain £20,000 on that day or they would be unable to continue the contract, and would suffer a serious loss in consequence of efforts to carry out with skill and faithfulness a useful plan of colonisation, which had already been eminently successful.

Sir George was distressed. He felt that it was useless to apply to the Colonial Office. His only alternative was to act upon his own responsibility with his own funds, or see a promising and beneficent experiment come to an impotent conclusion. He made up his mind to advance the £20,000 himself. On his way to his bankers in the city he met a relative of his own, the head of another great banking house. In the course of conversation the circumstances of his errand were told. To his astonishment and delight, his relative not only expressed great interest in the subject of the German emigration and settlement of the German Legion in South Africa, but concluded by saying, "Don't go any further, George. Come with me to our house and draw a cheque for the £20,000. Godeffroi shall receive the money, and you can arrange for the payment at your leisure."

Sir George accepted this generous and unexpected

offer. The cheque was duly drawn. The Messrs. Godeffroi received the £20,000, their agent steamed back to Hamburg, and the final parties of emigrants went joyfully upon their way. The Kaffrarian debentures were duly met, and every pound of the money for which these colonists became liable was paid to the Government of Kaffraria by them.

More than thirty years afterwards, in the early part of 1890, the survivors of the original colonists, and their children and grandchildren, a prosperous and happy people, met Sir Henry Loch on his visit to Kaffraria and Natal, and expressed to him the acknowledgment of their love and gratitude to the Kaffrarian Government for its unbounded kindness to them and to their fathers.

The efforts made to provide homes and families for the German Legion had, however, only been partially successful, because only partially permitted. There still remained members whose presence, instead of being a safeguard to the frontier, kept it in a continual state of alarm. At this time (1858), although the troops were pouring into India from different parts of the world, danger had arisen in a quarter not before seriously menaced. It became known to Lord Elphinstone and his Council in Bombay that in that city and Presidency a serious rising was to be apprehended at a certain religious festival. The troops from Bombay had passed over into Bengal and Oude.

Lord Elphinstone casting abroad for assistance, thought of the fertile resources of the Governor of the Cape. He knew that South Africa had been pretty well drained, but he knew also that Grey was a man of strange devices, and most fertile in resource, and that with some hope at any rate he might ask him for

assistance. He therefore sent another urgent appeal to Cape Town.

Sir George Grey, ever anxious about Indian matters, determined at once upon a plan, which, though strange, and in ordinary circumstances unlawful and subversive of the Constitution; seemed to him at the time, and under the peculiar conjunction of events, to be wise and expedient. He resolved upon his own authority to re-enroll all the men of the German Legion willing to follow the standard, to commission the officers afresh, and to forward them immediately to Bombay. With him, to form a decision was also to carry that decision into action.

A proclamation was issued; the men were invited to enlist. The invitations were readily accepted. Eager for war, adventure, and perhaps plunder, the men of the German Legion flocked by hundreds to the appointed depôts. They were enrolled, officers were commissioned, flags were given, and in a few weeks a detachment, shortly followed by others, set sail for India. The first body arrived in the very nick of time. Their disembarkation at Bombay, with flags and military music, "in all the pomp and circumstance of war," was hailed with an intense feeling of relief by the Governor and the whole of the European inhabitants. Company after company was forwarded, until at length there only remained in South Africa those who had made homes for themselves, and had settled down to the peaceful life of the frontier settlements.

The Germans in India, their officers properly re-commissioned, and the men freshly enrolled, were of signal service to the Government; and although this bold act of Sir George's drew from Ministers a sharp acknowledgment, containing a covert threat, not only of censure but of punishment, so valuable had been

the reinforcements, and so warm was the gratitude expressed by the Bombay Government, that the matter was allowed peacefully to drop.

Whilst the bitter correspondence between Sir George Grey and the Colonial Office upon the subject of the German Legion was proceeding, another matter of equal, if not greater, importance also threatened to disturb the amicable relations which should have subsisted between the Crown and its dependency. Sir George Grey had sent five thousand troops to India, and had weakened himself in Africa, avowedly to aid the Indian Government. The cost of the government of British Kaffraria had been considerably increased by the necessities which were created after the survivors of the Kafir nation had been brought in. All Sir George's actions in relation to the Kafir outbreak, consequent upon the wonderful prophecy, had met with the warmest approval of the Home Government. On August 5th, 1857, the Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton), wrote thus:—

“I have just left the House of Commons, where we have been discussing the vote for £40,000 for the Kafirs. It was carried by a large majority. Your conduct was praised by every one who spoke, and I assure you it is duly appreciated by the Government who derive so much advantage from it at this juncture.”

Sir George's prompt action, also, at the very time when this despatch was written in London, in regard to the Indian Mutiny, met with public approval.

In February, 1858, a new ministry came into power, and in May of that year Lord Stanley informed Sir George Grey that the annual grant for British Kaffraria for 1858 would be reduced from £40,000 to £20,000. At this time half the year was passed.

The cost of civil government—gaols, police, hospitals, justice, education, etc.—demanded the whole of the £40,000, on which the expenditure was based. Almost denuded of troops, with forty thousand strange Kafirs just brought within its boundaries, dependent for the peace of the country upon the smoothness and regularity with which the functions of government could be carried on, the representative of the Crown, and the sole governing power of Kaffraria, was informed by the Imperial Government in June that his supplies for the year were already spent, and he could receive no more.

The announcement came upon Sir George Grey with the suddenness of a thunder-clap. No word of advice as to how the affairs of a British province under military occupation were to be administered without funds, was given. No authority to draw upon the Imperial Government was transmitted.

Whilst the British Government was, by votes from Parliament, conducting the administration of the conquered province of Kaffraria, Sir George Grey had, by the authority of the Home Government, entered into treaties with the native chiefs (whose revenues were derived from the fees and fines of the Courts of Justice in which they sat) that they should accept stipulated salaries to be paid to them at settled short periods for their services in the courts in which they presided, in lieu of the fees and fines previously paid to them. They were also, by the terms of such treaties, to allow a British Resident or Magistrate to sit as an assessor with themselves. The effect of this arrangement was to secure from the Kafir chiefs, an admission that they were salaried chiefs acting under the authority of a superior whose supremacy they recognized.

Sir George Grey had concluded these solemn

undertakings, and he was now required without any previous warning to break the treaty with each of the chiefs, all of whom had faithfully adhered to their engagements. He felt that it was unfair to expect that he, the great servant of the Crown, who had concluded these engagements, should be called upon to break them.

Driven in this instance, also, to rely solely upon himself, and his own means, the Queen's Commissioner had but one avenue of escape from the terrible difficulties of his position. He paid into the Treasury to the public account of British Kaffraria, the sum of six thousand pounds of his own private moneys. Then using as much economy as was consistent with safety, he carried on the Government of British Kaffraria with these funds. Earnest remonstrances were at the same time sent to England, but the danger was averted, and this act, on the part of the Commissioner and Governor, saved British Kaffraria from confusion and peril. Sir George Grey simply alluded to the circumstance in a despatch.

Some two years afterwards he received from Sir E. B. Lytton, a letter stating that from a casual expression in one of his (Grey's) despatches, it appeared probable that he had advanced the sum of six thousand pounds of his own money for the public services, under circumstances which clearly rendered it an act of justice in the Government to see that the public repaid the amount, and that if Sir George would certify that such was the case, and would furnish the name of his banker in London, the officers of the Treasury would be instructed to make the necessary repayment.

It was after he had returned from England and been re-appointed to the Governorship of the Cape, on the 31st of January, 1860, that the Right Honour-

able Chichester Fortescue wrote, stating that the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury had instructed the Paymaster-General to repay to him the sum of six thousand pounds, advanced by him for the public service of British Kaffraria.

In the importance of these grave affairs, Sir George Grey did not overlook the countless smaller matters which called for his attention. Although his advice was seldom taken by the Home Government, his opinion on various matters was continually asked, as in the following two instances :—Sir George Grey was requested by Mr. Labouchere, to make a full report on the subject whether the treaty by which the Transvaal Boers bound themselves to abolish slavery in that territory was enforced or not. Sir George replied in a despatch dated 22nd May, 1856. Mr. Chesson, commenting on this despatch, says :—“ He displays a sagacity which is not far removed from prescience.” It stated that in ‘his opinion the treaties amount to a declaration on the part of the English that they abandon the coloured races to the mercy of the two Republics, and asserts that the interests of Britain will suffer from such disregard of engagements solemnly entered into.

Several letters from Sir George Grey, Bart., then principal Secretary for the Colonies, beginning in August, 1854, related to the management of affairs at the Cape, and dealt chiefly with the necessity for making the people accustomed to the idea of self-defence, and alive to the fact that the British Government intended to withdraw their troops from the eastern frontier. The letters contain many allusions to communications from Sir George Clark, who, after visiting the frontier, awaited Governor Grey’s arrival at Cape Town, and whose opinion was unfavourable as to the measures likely to be taken by the legis-

latures in South Africa to provide for their own safety.

"While for the present an arrangement has been made for keeping up the actual amount of British forces at the Cape to its present number—about 5,000 men—this cannot be looked to as a permanent arrangement, and local means of defence ought undoubtedly to be organised with as little delay as possible."*

Other demands upon his time were made by native troubles and risings.

In 1857-8 a fierce quarrel subsisted between the Orange Free State and the Basutos. It arose principally upon the question of the boundaries of their respective territories. The wily old Moshesh proved himself a full match for the indomitable courage and military skill of the Boers. At length the good offices of the High Commissioner were accepted by the belligerents, and Sir George Grey successfully mediated between them and made peace.

The question of the dividing line between the territories was left to his decision. In order that there might be no error or mistake in the exact locality of the boundary line, Sir George, taking with him a deputation of the burghers of the Free State and several Basuto chiefs, traversed the boundary, leaving marks, either of natural features of the country or artificial stations, by which the line should be for ever distinguished.

In after years he related with glee the manner in which he had led the stout and heavy Boers up well-nigh inaccessible hills and down the faces of precipices, much to their discomfort. He himself was hardy, and trained to such exploits; but to the ordinary

* Letter from Sir G. Grey (Col. Off.) to Sir G. Grey, Governor of Cape Colony, January 13th, 1855.

Boer such a journey was a thing to be dreaded and remembered.

A treaty was ultimately signed, and the quarrel, which bade fair to be ceaseless and bloody, was permanently disposed of. To one article of the proposed treaty alone did the Basuto chief object. Concerning it he thus wrote :—

October 4th, 1858.

To His Excellency Sir George Grey,

Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

Sir,—I received your letter last Saturday, and I have heard all that you have said to me, and that you have fought very hard for me, but the Boers did not agree with you; and I said, Now, O my good sir, I have no doubt about you. I have found that you have worked very hard for me, and I shall be very glad if you can do as you see it proper, for I put my confidence in you, only what I wish from you is only peace.

The Lord be with you, so that you will complete your work with great success; and I agree upon the boundary line which the Boers have brought you to, if Your Excellency is therewith satisfied.

And about hunting, I am ashamed, therefore pray for me to the Governor of the Free State that they may not lay such a great heavy ban upon my poor people, who have nothing to live on this year, because their hopes of living this time are only in hunting.

With respect to the other articles, I have signed them at Moria.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE GOVERNOR RECALLED.

“As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm.
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.”

Goldsmith.

THE despatches which arrived in the year 1858 were decidedly hostile and antagonistic in tone to the Governor. The Colonial Office was, during this and the year following, ruled by Lord Stanley and Sir E. B. Lytton as principal secretaries, and Lord Carnarvon as political under-secretary. Earl Carnarvon's connection with the Colonial Office, throughout, from first to last, seems to have been a course of enmity against Sir George Grey. Sir E. B. Lytton, owing to illness, interfered but little in the work of the Colonial Office. The despatches from the Governor to Downing Street contain many allusions to the unjust and severe censures which he received.

“If,” writes Sir George Grey, “virtual censures are continually recorded against me by one department of the State when I am right, what hope is there for me if, in the difficulties with which I am daily beset, I commit some error? And how can those who are not acquainted with the real state of the case think otherwise, even when I am right, than that I must have acted wrongly to be so censured?”

So fierce at last became the attacks upon Sir George Grey, that on June 23, 1858, he wrote the following letter to Lord Stanley :—

My Lord,—In reference to some of the despatches which I have recently received, and which it appears to be thought here, and which (as you will find from my despatch No. 91) it is stated here, it was believed in England, when they were written to me, were of such a nature that they would render it imperative on me to resign my office, I think it right to state that my life has been one of such constant, active duty in remote parts of the world, and I have been so little mixed up in ordinary political affairs, that I am quite ignorant of what may be the conventional rules among public men on such subjects.

I simply believe, in as far as your lordship is concerned, that if you thought it would be for the advantage of the public service that I should vacate my office, you would in a very straightforward, although courteous manner, tell me so.

Yet, lest I should be violating any conventional rules which I do not understand, I beg to tell your lordship that nothing but a sense of duty has made me hold my present office so long as I have done. My life is one of ceaseless toil and anxiety—of long separations from much which makes life valuable to man. I have only remained here because I thought I was useful to Her Majesty and to my country, from an attachment I felt for any duty which I am set to do, and from a personal regard to the very great number of persons in this colony who have helped me in my many difficulties. But when it is thought to be for the advantage of the public service to send me back to private life, I shall cheerfully and gladly make way for a successor. If, therefore, her Majesty's Government desire to remove me, the slightest intimation to that effect from your lordship shall lead to my immediate retirement.

I have the honour to be,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

G. GREY.

On another occasion he wrote: "I am here beset by cares and difficulties which occupy my mind incessantly, and wear out my health. I feel that I have conducted Her Majesty's affairs for the advantage of her service, and the welfare of her subjects, whose

love, gratitude, and loyalty I have secured for the Queen—and I certainly feel it hard that the reward I should receive should be to have my spirit broken by having accounts which I feel are entitled to the approval of Her Majesty's Government, disallowed, thus throwing me into new difficulties—and that this should be done in the uncourteous manner it is, and in letters which, as an old and loyal government servant, sorely wound my feelings, is still worse." This was in relation to the non-payment for two thousand pairs of boots, for the bare feet of the German Legion, which force, indeed, was clearly entitled to them.

British Kaffraria, however, in spite of Downing Street, thrived and prospered. The children of the savages became civilised. The nomadic wanderers became settled agriculturists. Christianity spread its peaceful influence upon their hearts and homes, and when upon the journey alluded to, in 1880, Sir Henry Loch visited that portion of the Queen's dominions, eight thousand of the Kafirs, mounted, armed, wealthy and independent, met him, their new Governor, upon the road; and they also desired him (the only Governor who had visited them since the time of Grey) to transmit to Sir George, in New Zealand, their everlasting remembrance of his goodness in the days of old.

In September, 1858, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, sent a private despatch to Governor Grey which commenced thus:

"Some of your recent despatches, to which it is not necessary that I should particularly advert, have conveyed to me the expression of an opinion which, as I know, you have frequently urged on Her Majesty's former advisers, namely, that it would be expedient to keep in view the ultimate policy of incorporating

British Kaffraria with the Cape Colony, and even, if possible, of uniting all Her Majesty's dominions in South Africa under some common (and of course free) government.

"If I have in any way misinterpreted your views, you will excuse the inadvertency, as on so complicated and extensive a subject it is possible I may not have thoroughly understood you.

"The experience which your administration of these dependencies has now given you, added to the ability and political knowledge which you have displayed in former employments, as well as in this, give a high value in the eyes of Her Majesty's Government to the expression of your deliberate sentiments on such a question; and it appears to me that it is one on which 'it is highly desirable, however difficult, that a definite understanding should be arrived at.'"

The despatch in which Sir George Grey answered the private communication of the 6th of September is one of the most important State documents ever penned by him. Its primary intention was no doubt to deal with the question immediately raised respecting a possible confederation of South African States. The consideration of this subject led him to weigh many other questions which directly or indirectly affected the main point.

He had long been grieved by the misconceptions under which the Imperial authorities laboured concerning the character and plans of the colonists, as well as the value of the territories which they inhabited. These misconceptions generally arose from the reports and statements made officially to the Home Government by officers employed in the different dependencies, who from various causes had arrived at erroneous conclusions.

It often happened that men of no special adaptation

for the work in hand, selected without due regard to their capacity, were the only means of communication, and the only sources of information. Grey had encountered this difficulty in Western Australia, in South Australia, and in New Zealand; and very many of the obstacles which he had to overcome in his official career arose from false estimates thus formed in the great departments of State in London.

In the case of South Africa he found these erroneous impressions multiplied and intensified. The official and confidential correspondence of successive Governors and high officers of State, written frequently under the pressure of impending calamity or harassing danger, had produced a very serious but essentially false estimate of the Cape and its people in Downing Street and Whitehall.

When, on the 19th of November, 1858, he proceeded to answer this despatch, he first stated the fact of such false impressions having been created and circulated, before offering his own advice and suggestions as to the proper course to be adopted. A summary of the belief which had thus been engendered was given by Sir George in the following words:—

“When the policy was adopted of dividing South Africa into many States, bound together by no ties of union, it was thought that the mother country derived no real benefit from the possession of this part of the African continent, except in holding the seaport of Simon’s Bay. It was also thought that peace was ruin to the Cape Colony; that the expenditure of British money during wars made the fortunes of its inhabitants; that they therefore encouraged such wars, often in the most profligate and unscrupulous manner. The European inhabitants beyond the Orange River were believed to be really rebels. It was thought that even in Cape Town it might at any

moment be necessary to employ a military force to punish the inhabitants and to prevent the commission of disgraceful scenes. So strongly was this apprehension of disloyalty felt, that even when the countries beyond the Orange River were thrown off, and the question of their federation amongst themselves arose, it was thought that it would be desirable to encourage such a measure, not with a view to the interests of the inhabitants, but because if they were united into one country they would have but one government and one capital; that, therefore, when it was necessary to punish or reconquer them, it would be only requisite to deliver one blow at one point, instead of several blows at two or more points.

"It was further thought that the occupation by Great Britain of the country beyond the Orange River had been a bubble and a farce, in which the Cape colonists were all interested; and it was to them a great gaming-table, and out of the reach of the police; that the country was itself, in great part, a desert, and would hardly keep half-starved antelopes; that it could never produce wool, as the Boers were so prejudiced that they would keep nothing but hairy, fat-tailed sheep; that the labours of the missionaries amongst the native tribes of Africa had produced no results, as no instances were known of real conversions to Christianity, and that it was a lamentable fact that all the Christianity amongst the native tribes in Southern Africa was purchased and paid for—its principal and sole object and end being the facility which such means afforded of obtaining gunpowder.

"These opinions prevailing regarding the country and its inhabitants, the necessary consequence was that Her Majesty's Government determined to rid themselves of such costly and troublesome possessions, and the measures necessary for doing this were

hurriedly carried out before any free form of government had been introduced into or tried in any part of South Africa. Necessarily, therefore, the wishes of its inhabitants were in no way consulted in regard to what was done."

Had such reports been true, had the people been rebels, unscrupulous, and greedy; had the country been a waterless desert and useless to Great Britain save for the possession of two harbours, then the policy of dismemberment, which had been already commenced by the abandonment of the Orange Free State, would have been good and sufficient.

But the Governor consistently affirmed that the opinions which had been formed in England regarding the Cape and its people, the land of South Africa and its various inhabitants, were altogether opposed to the facts.

For nearly four years he had diligently studied the people and the country he had been sent to govern. He felt himself competent to pronounce a decisive judgment upon both. And he proceeded in his despatch, not merely to give a history of what had been done under the false impressions existing, but to sketch the possible dangers which menaced that portion of the Empire, and the steps which, in his opinion, should be taken to ensure its safety and to make it prosperous.

Its people, he contended, were not rebels, but law-abiding and law-loving subjects. He had always acted on this belief, and in no case had he been disappointed. In two notable instances, then present to his mind, the loyalty of the Cape people had been signally displayed. They had voted the necessary money to pay the Hottentot pensioners, and so redeemed the promises of British Ministers, while at the terrible crisis in India they had sent troops and money, and even given their own private horses for the cavalry

and artillery in Bengal. They were indeed impatient of oppression, and high-spirited as a race. The founders of the colony had drawn their blood from two noble strains, one of which had flowed in the veins of Dutchmen renowned for their stubborn bravery and unbounded perseverance; the other was traced from that great line of French Protestants who, like the Puritan founders of the United States, had fled from their native land to find in distant regions a home for civil and religious liberty.

From races such as these, upon which were grafted the gradual accretions of two centuries, he held that a people, intelligent and strong, loyal and true-hearted, had arisen. But it was necessary in order to their proper government, that those who ruled them should understand them, and that instead of being driven by the hand of power they should be led by the hand of sympathy.

Grey was convinced that the policy of confidence in the people was a policy of wisdom and justice. During his whole career he acted upon this principle, and he never had reason to regret it. When in after years he advocated Home Rule for Ireland he rested upon this principle of confidence in the governed which he had never known to fail.

Considered in the light of history and reason there can be no doubt that Sir George's argument is absolutely correct. It is founded upon the innate nobility of our common nature. It appeals to the very highest attributes of humanity. It builds upon the only durable basis—not upon fear—not merely upon authority.

'When Governments will thus take the people into their confidence the peaceful ending of civil disputes will be, to use Mr. Gladstone's memorable words, "within measurable distance."

Regarding the native races, he held that they also could be raised in the social scale and made useful subjects of the Crown. In this direction also, it was necessary that the duty of instruction and government should be fulfilled, not in a perfunctory manner, but with zeal and affection.

To the slanders upon South Africa itself he gave an indignant denial. Large portions of the southern part of the great continent were eminently fertile. Some were well watered, and the climate was in many places good, in some almost perfect. In his own words, "The countries which lie beyond the Orange River are very fertile and productive. Some of them are so to the highest degree. Their extent may be said to be boundless, and in many portions they are capable of carrying a very dense population."

There was present to the mind of Sir George Grey while writing this despatch, a feeling of the evil influences resulting from the method of appointing Governors to the various colonies then practised. This feeling was afterwards strengthened from the year 1867 when the rule was first adopted and acted upon, of sending peers or the sons of peers to represent the Crown in the great consulates.

Believing in the righteousness and wisdom of local self-government in these distant parts of the empire, and that the great offices of state should be the reward of merit, he desired that an educated people should in every instance frame its own laws and administer its own affairs. Thus believing, he perceived that the appointment of Governors by Ministers at Home, tended to raise an aristocracy—generally of wealth—in every colony, thus perpetuating in the new world the vices of the older systems, and rendering necessary the same political and social struggles in these nascent nations, which were convulsing the

Kingdoms of Europe and threatening them with revolution.

He thought that every office of the State should be free and open. That to restrict the appointment of great officials to the uncontrolled voice of a Minister in another land was to cramp and confine the energies and hopes of the community, while it degraded the people so governed by declaring them to be incompetent and inferior.

He had in New Zealand raised a new and better system. The Superintendents of the different provinces were in reality Lieutenant-Governors, elected by the people. This had been recognised by the Imperial Parliament, and remarked upon by the two Secretaries of State for the Colonies—Earl Grey and Sir John Pakington—under whose administration of colonial affairs the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852 had been framed and passed.

There was also strongly present to his mind the policy which the Imperial Government had determined to adopt in South Africa. The European population was to be treated as the emigrant Boers in the Transvaal and the inhabitants of the Orange River Sovereignty had been treated; that is, they were to be dealt with in the same fashion as a series of railway trucks when not wanted—they were to be “shunted”—while the Kafirs and other native races were to be repressed and governed by a strong military force, but still to enjoy their own savage and barbarous customs.

From each of these courses Sir George Grey dissented. He condemned them both equally. He had recognised the probability of a conflict between the Home Government and himself upon these subjects. But he was so convinced of the righteousness of his own purposes and the soundness of his own judgment,

that he determined at all risks to avert what he considered on the one hand would be a national calamity, and on the other an unworthy perpetuation of barbarism and tyranny. And this he resolved to accomplish by convincing Her Majesty's advisers that his recommendations were for the honour of the Crown and the welfare of the Empire. Thus he hoped to prevail upon them to abandon a plan which he believed to be suicidal, and to inspire in the minds of the colonists and native tribes an earnest desire for knowledge and political power, which would at once create self-respect, and render them mutually useful to each other.

From all sides of the question—the governing and the governed, the Empire and the Colonies, the rights of free men and the hopes of civilization for savages—these grave considerations forced themselves upon him. The Government should be of the people and for the people. The people themselves should be made fit to exercise political power and to enjoy the full and equal rights of freemen.

It was impossible, as it would have been impertinent, to have included arguments of so wide a scope in this answer to Sir E. B. Lytton's secret despatch. Yet the light and reason which flowed from such extensive trains of thought impelled the Governor to a full and exhaustive answer upon the immediate questions submitted to him.

He concluded by advising that the several legislatures of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, and the Orange Free State should be empowered to found a federal union embracing Kaffraria within their limits, and with authority to adopt into the Union, then or thereafter, all States which might wish to join them, including Native States, with large powers of self-government.

He urged that all these considerations showed "the

desirability of allowing the people of South Africa an opportunity of exercising some influence on their own future destiny." Regarding the details of the form of government to be proposed, Sir George Grey stated that the Constitution of New Zealand would furnish a suitable model, and it could be so altered "as to suit in every particular the circumstances of South Africa." The soundness of his judgment in this last recommendation was vindicated by the fact that Canada was thus federated in less than ten years.

In subsequent despatches from Downing Street to the Cape, and from the Cape to Downing Street, the whole scope of federation, not only between the scattered communities then subject to the Crown, but also the Free States of the Transvaal and the Orange River, as well as some of the principal native dominions, was suggested. The matter was the subject of continuous comment between the Home Government and South Africa. It was stated by Sir George Grey that the Volksraad of the Free State had passed resolutions affirming the advisability of a union or alliance with the Cape. Indeed, the federation of South Africa seemed a possible, if not probable, event, with the full and entire concurrence of the Home Government, at no very distant day.

When the Parliament of 1859 met at Cape Town, Sir George Grey placed before it the resolutions of the Orange River Volksraad, and in the course of his address used the following terms:—"You would, in my belief, confer a lasting benefit upon Great Britain and upon the inhabitants of this country if you could succeed in devising a form of federal union, under which the several provinces composing it should have full and free scope of action left to them, through their own local governments and legislatures, upon all subjects relating to their individual prosperity or happi-

ness ; whilst they should act under a general federal government in relation to all points which concern the general safety or weal."

He further continued to point out that in federation of the different South African States alone lay safety and success. A copy of this address was, of course, transmitted to Her Majesty's Government in London, with full explanations and comments.

To Sir George Grey's great surprise he received an answer upon the 5th of May, conveying an expression of dissatisfaction at his having brought the question of a federation of the South African provinces before the Cape Parliament without any authority from the Ministers at Home. In reply, Sir George sent a short but concise explanation of his conduct ; of the reasons that had induced that conduct, reciting the various items of correspondence from Great Britain which had led him to suppose that the Imperial Government desired him to take the steps which he had taken.

On the 4th of June, 1859, the final answer came. After a long review of Sir George's whole administration, Sir E. B. Lytton commanded him to surrender his Government and to return to England. The deductions in Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's despatch as to Sir George Grey's culpability in the matter of the federation are not borne out by the facts adduced, or by the arguments used. Even in this despatch, which was evidently intended to close the connection between Sir George Grey and the Imperial Government at once and for ever, the Secretary for the Colonies did not attempt to cast a slight upon the character or achievements of a public servant who had been so singularly useful and universally successful as Sir George Grey.

"I acknowledge," he says, "the large and comprehensive nature of your views, the mixture of firmness

and benevolence which has characterised your dealing with the native races, the sagacity with which you have foreseen and averted probable collisions, and the able policy by which you have availed yourself of unexpected and strange events in their history, so as to use them at once for their advantage and for the security of the colony. I am very conscious of the serious nature of the step taken by Her Majesty's Government when they deprive themselves of the services of one so highly endowed as yourself, but I am also satisfied that no other alternative is left them. They could not safely continue to entrust with your present functions one committed, as you have committed yourself, to a policy of which they disapprove on a subject of the first importance; nor could they expect from you the necessary assistance when steps, which you have taken without that authority, have of necessity to be retraced.

"I shall take the first opportunity of informing you of the appointment of a successor, and of any other steps which Her Majesty's Government may propose to take."

Immediately upon the receipt of this despatch, Sir George penned an elaborate statement—which indeed is more of a State memorandum than a despatch—in which, having entered fully into every aspect of the subject, he exonerates himself from all blame, and places his own conduct in an unassailable position. The closing paragraph of that despatch (dated July 20th, 1859) is a noble vindication of his conduct which deserves to be placed upon record and to be remembered:

"If, then, success is not to be the measure of the necessity and propriety of the amount of the responsibility assumed, how is it to be estimated? None can deny that, surrounded by the novel and trying diffi-

culties with which I had to grapple, instantly, without having received any instructions from Her Majesty's Government in relation to them, and without any power of obtaining such, I have, with the aid of the many able officers and public functionaries in this country, been fortunately successful. Can, then, Her Majesty's advisers undertake to say that if I had in any instance assumed less responsibility, Her Majesty's South African possessions would have been preserved intact, and have been raised to the condition in which they now are? If this is asserted, let it be shown how much too much responsibility I am believed to have assumed. Can a man, who on a distant and exposed frontier, surrounded by difficulties, with invasions of Her Majesty's territories threatening on several points, assumes a responsibility which he, guided by many circumstances which he can neither record nor remember as they come hurrying on one after another, be fairly judged of in respect of the amount of responsibility he assumes by those who, in the quiet of distant offices in London, know nothing of the anxieties or nature of the difficulties he had to encounter? If Her Majesty's possessions and Her Majesty's subjects are saved from threatening dangers, and they gratefully acknowledge this, whilst the Empire receives no hurt, is it a fitting return that the only reward he should receive should be the highest punishment which it is in the power of Her Majesty's Ministers to inflict? This may be the reward they bestow; but the true one of the consciousness of difficult duties performed to the best of his ability, with great personal sacrifice, they cannot take from him."

The unprecedented circumstances which had happened since Sir George Grey had accepted, at the request of the Duke of Newcastle, the care of South

Africa, had compelled him to a certain course of action, 'which had thus at last ended with his summary dismissal from his office. The affair of the Hottentot pensions; the dispute as to the revenue of British Kaffraria; the sending of the China army to India; the levying of the German Legion, thus adding to the military forces of the Empire without the sanction of Parliament; and, lastly, the suggestions for a confederated South Africa, were all illustrations of a principle which he contended for, and believed to be not only correct, but essential.

He felt that the Empire was in a state of transition, and, therefore, liable to sudden dangers which, if the public safety were to be secured, must be met and averted as they arose. As he had explained to Colonel Hope, when diverting the China army, and as he had stated in his memorandum in answer to accusations made against him on his return from New Zealand, he held as an article of faith that it was necessary, at whatever cost or personal sacrifice, that the great officers of the Empire should, upon such occasions, take upon themselves the full responsibility of doing as they might see fit. He acted on the true reading of the Latin maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex*, and felt that he was right in so acting.

To break through the orders of the Horse Guards and the War Office, and himself issue fresh commands, would have been, under ordinary circumstances, little short of high treason; but in the face of the Indian Mutiny it was mere common sense. To raise fresh regiments and add them to the strength of the British army *would be*, under ordinary circumstances, high treason; but when Sir George Grey recalled the German Legion to its standards and sent it to Bombay, it was the act of a far-seeing and patriotic statesman. It was well for England and well for

India that at the Cape in 1857, there was a man, who dared do all things when he felt he was in the right.

The natural consequences of such a course of conduct, especially when actions of this nature were repeated, ensued. His recall was sooner or later inevitable, and for the same reason it became certain that sooner or later Sir George Grey's connection with the Colonial Office must perforce cease. He was, as Ministers did not hesitate to say, too strong a man. As afterwards in England he sacrificed his political prospects to his sense of right and justice, so in his career as a Colonial Governor, he voluntarily placed himself in such a position as to close the gates against himself to the highest promotion in the public service.

The esteem of good men, the consciousness of work well done, the rewards which, in this world and the world to come, will be bestowed upon public virtue and public courage, are and will be his; but, none the less, he was called upon to illustrate the truth that they who lead in that which is great and good, must be content to bear the martyr's cross.

Sir George Grey lost no time in obeying the orders thus received. He broke up his establishment at serious pecuniary loss to himself, and took passage for England. South Africa was overshadowed by astonishment and consternation. The prevalence of peace and good government raised by Grey's five years of administration—the sense of safety never before enjoyed—the hopes of future prosperity built upon the continuance of his wise and firm policy—were rudely swept away by a despatch from a gentleman whom the people had never seen and only knew by reputation, in whose estimation the lives and welfare of a million of people, civilized and barbarian, were not equal in importance to the continuance of

official control, and to the necessity of a blind obedience.

This difference between the Ministry and Sir George, led to results which never could have been anticipated, and which were destined to bring suffering and loss and shame upon Great Britain and South Africa in future years.

The principal Secretary of State for the Colonies at this time was the well-known novelist, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary was the Earl of Carnarvon. Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert was then in his twenty-eighth year. Fresh from the schools, proud of his academic distinctions, accustomed to the praises of his peers and the flattery and subservience of his inferiors, he had entered public life with settled convictions as to his own ability and the sacred rights of his order. With one or two others, such as Earl Kimberley, Lord Carnarvon took a leading position in English politics as a peer without first serving his apprenticeship in the Commons.

The valuable lessons to be learned while contesting a seat in the popular assembly, and by participating in the keen debates of the Representative Chamber, were thus denied to him. Ushered at once into a prominent position, he was placed in a delicate and dangerous situation. As if to add at once to the responsibility and the perils which encompassed the young Earl's path, Bulwer Lytton became seriously unwell. Driven by illness to seek the waters and mild climate of Malvern, the Chief Secretary had to devolve well nigh the whole active conduct of his great department upon Lord Carnarvon. To the young peer Sir George Grey's conduct in all these matters (some of which happened within his own experience, while others had come to his knowledge

from the recent history of the department) amounted to less than treason, but more than insubordination.

Lord Carnarvon's mind was made up. Sir George might have rendered great services to the nation, but he must henceforth be dispensed with. To use the noble Earl's own words, which in after years he did not hesitate to utter, "Sir George Grey was a dangerous man." His actions might be successful, but the doom of any public servant who acted as Sir George Grey had done was, in Lord Carnarvon's mind, already decreed. He must be got rid of. He was a dangerous man. Thus were sown the seeds, the harvest of which in 1877-81 England and South Africa were to reap in suffering and in tears. The mind of the young peer became so violently prejudiced against Sir George Grey, as to preclude the possibility of his ever again employing this bold defier of all constituted authority in the service of the Crown. Only upon this theory is it possible to understand the acts of Lord Carnarvon in relation to Sir George Grey and to affairs in South Africa on this occasion and in after years.

CHAPTER XXX.

DISMAY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

"The kindest man,
The best-conditioned and unwearied spirit
In doing courtesies."

Merchant of Venice.

THE sudden news of the Governor's recall spread sorrow and dismay over every community in South Africa. The disagreements between Sir George Grey and the great departments in Whitehall were generally known. Well-informed people had long been cognizant of the fact that the independence of Governor Grey and his original method of acting upon his own belief, irrespective of orders or established rules, had caused great bitterness at headquarters, but so valuable were the services he had rendered, so indispensable his assistance in the maintenance of the Imperial authority, that no one dreamed that the blow now delivered was imminent.

The whole people rose in expostulation. From every district, every race, and all classes, there went up one common cry of disapproval and sorrow. Meetings were held, resolutions passed, and petitions signed, praying Her Majesty to rescind the obnoxious order of recall, and to reappoint Sir George Grey to the scene of his successful labours. The tidings "staggered and excited the country from one end to the other," wrote the Metropolitan of Cape Town to

the Bishop of Oxford ; and, to quote from the report of a member of the Cambridge Committee on the Oxford and Cambridge mission to Central Africa, "filled the minds of all interested in the missionary cause with dismay, and threatened the extinction of some of the most hopeful work ever yet undertaken in the colony."

The Fingoes, after long deliberation, framed their prayer to the Queen thus :—

TO THE GREAT QUEEN VICTORIA.

Oh, our Great Queen, graciously look upon us. We, thy subjects, Fingoes, residing at Grahamstown, desire to approach thy feet and pray before thee.

For a long time we have sat under thy Government, loving thy authority and thy customs.

In thy kindness thou didst send us Sir George Grey, that he might administer rule over us.

We saw when he arrived that he was just such a chief as we black people needed. He manifested his love towards us in many things. He helped us in all things. He gave us ground to live upon, that we might no longer be as wanderers and strangers without location. He built us great schools, that our children might enter them and learn nicely, like the children of English people.

We rejoiced for all these things. We said, "We are a blessed people under our Queen Victoria. We are like children who have a father in all things to preserve, feed, and help them."

But to-day we are smitten with sorrow by hearing very heavy tidings, viz., that thou, our Great Queen, hast called home our chief, Sir George Grey. To-day our hearts weep : they are dead because of this. We say, "Has our Queen forsaken us or not ? Having deprived us of our father, we are now orphans indeed." No, our Great Queen, don't throw us away. Regard our prayer and send back our chief, that he may again come and live with us and comfort us by taking away our crying.

And may the Lord of Heaven look upon thee and bless thee with all the blessings of this earth, and when thou leavest this world may He give thee a throne in Heaven.

Amid all the petitions which were forwarded from

the different parts of South Africa, there was one which can fairly be regarded as the representation of the opinions and wishes of all classes and conditions of people in that portion of the Queen's dominions. It was headed:—

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE UNDERSIGNED LAND
HOLDERS, BANKERS, MERCHANTS, AGRICULTURISTS AND
OTHERS.

HUMBLY SHOWETH,—That Your Majesty's loyal subjects in South Africa have derived great benefits from the wise, prudent, and active administration of the Colonial Government by His Excellency Sir George Grey, to whom your majesty was graciously pleased to commit the arduous duty of restoring and consolidating peace and good order over a vast country, recently the scene of cruel wars and confusion, and always exposed to a recurrence of danger unless guarded and kept in a state of preparation by men of ability and large experience in colonial affairs.

That the high character which Sir George Grey had acquired in the course of many years' service under Your Majesty, in administering the affairs of European settlements in the neighbourhood of barbarous tribes, and with equal ability and success in pacifying and promoting the welfare and civilisation of those native populations themselves, has been fully sustained and rendered still more eminent by the whole course of his proceedings at the Cape of Good Hope.

The petitioners then proceeded to express the perilous condition in which Sir George Grey had found the colony—the skill and fortitude with which all these untoward circumstances had been met and overcome; the high state of prosperity to which under God's blessing, the Governor had been able to lead that portion of the Queen's Dominions; the confidence which all men had learnt to repose in his wisdom and courage, and the gratitude and affection which he had earned from the multitudinous races and peoples who, in that part of the world, were

subjects of the Crown, or who lived in contiguity with her people.

After depicting the regret and alarm with which they had heard the statement of his recall, the petitioners thus closed this memorable document:—

That while humbly presenting to your Majesty every expression of loyalty and devotion to your Majesty's person and Government, and carefully abstaining from any wish to encroach on the undoubted prerogative of their revered and beloved Sovereign, Your Majesty's petitioners would pray permission to lay their petition at the foot of the Throne for a reconsideration of the measure which Your Majesty has been advised to adopt in this instance. They entertain a hope that when all the circumstances of this colony and the neighbouring communities shall have been fully unfolded to Your Majesty, and the whole tenor and effect of Sir George Grey's administration made apparent, Your Majesty may see cause consistently with the principles of Your Majesty's Government, and the honour and dignity of the Crown, to gratify the wishes and desires of your people by restoring to them a Governor, who, from their experience, they believe will ever give Your Majesty the highest satisfaction.

This petition, typical of the general feeling of the colonists and their neighbours, was signed by Mr. J. B. Ebdon, Chairman of the public meeting, and 2,272 others.

The universal prayer of the people was that Sir George Grey might be re-appointed. To such a prayer, no Sovereign, least of all Victoria, would have turned a deaf ear, and even Downing Street, with its case-hardened officialism, its Tite Barnacles and red tapeism, would have been forced to yield. The people trusted that when due consideration had been given to the whole subject, and when Her Majesty's Ministers had time to reconsider their decision, their petitions would be granted. There were many amongst them who did not fear to assert, both in speech and writing, that such a universal

expression of opinion as had been given, would influence public opinion in Great Britain, and cause the re-appointment of the Governor they loved so well.

Without their knowledge this had already been done, but the test applied drew forth the spontaneous feelings cherished in the hearts of the people for their ruler, and revealed the estimation in which Sir George Grey was held.

The last public function performed by Sir George Grey was one peculiarly agreeable to himself, and consisted in laying the foundation stone of a new and commodious Hospital in Cape Town. Lord Charles Somerset had formerly taken an active part in the erection of a hospital. As time passed on this proved entirely inadequate to the public wants, and it was determined to erect a more capacious building.

Sir George insisted upon the institution being called the Somerset Hospital in memory of his predecessor.

Book the Fifth.

SECOND GOVERNORSHIP OF CAPE COLONY,
1859-1861.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PUBLIC OPINION IN ENGLAND ON THE COLONIAL QUESTION.

"Have been at a great feast of languages and stolen the scraps."
Love's Labour's Lost.

AS the ship neared England, the mind of the returning Governor was somewhat perplexed as to his future course and destiny. He had long since decided to follow out what seemed to be the path of duty irrespective of consequences; and had already in New Zealand entered upon a course of independent conduct which had threatened the sudden termination of his official career.

The blow had at last fallen, and, although sustained by a consciousness that he had done his duty, the sudden separation from his chosen work, which he loved so well, weighed heavily upon him. There was so much yet to be accomplished in South Africa. So many golden opportunities for usefulness presented themselves to his mind which perhaps a stranger might not perceive, or, perceiving, appreciate, that a sadness, foreign and strange to him, asserted a temporary sway.

All the races in South Africa had endeared themselves to their late Governor. The colonists, whether of British, or Dutch, or French extraction, had welcomed him warmly, and loyally supported him. The natives, both chiefs and people, had proved themselves true-hearted and faithful.

To realise that all his plans were stopped, and that the shears of the fatal sisters had, as it were, cut asunder the threads of his political life, could not but weigh with extreme gravity upon his mind. What the future would bring forth troubled him. Who would be sent to govern those scattered and diverse races? What counsels were to guide him? What policy would be given him to follow? All these questions, as he paced the deck while Northern stars rose in the heavens, harassed and saddened a heart not given to forebodings, and generally untroubled by events.

At any rate, if his connection with the colonies had ceased, he had attempted to the best of his ability to serve his Maker, his Queen, and his country.

Twenty-two years had passed since he had first traversed those seas on his outward voyage to Western Australia. They had been years of adventure, of experience, of usefulness and honour. The arbitrary will of a Secretary of State might sever his connection with the chosen work of his life, and dismiss him from the public service. But no power on earth could erase the record of that twenty-two years of public service—and in his heart he esteemed the names Western Australia, South Australia, New Zealand, the South Pacific and South Africa, more worthy and more glorious than the proudest names which were inscribed in ancient or modern times upon the standards of victorious hosts. •

Nor was he altogether devoid of faith, that, even this blow would turn out rather a blessing than an injury. He remembered how on his first return to England not a month had passed before his highest hopes had been exceeded. He felt that in South Africa his work was not completed. The same faith which had nerved him in the terrible difficulties of his explorations, and which had sustained him since in many scenes of trial and of responsibility, enabled him under this heavy stroke of seeming disaster, calmly to resign himself to the will of that great Master whom he desired to serve and obey.

At length the ship reached her destination. The ex-Governor had requested that any reporters from the papers who boarded the ship, might be brought to him on their arrival. In compliance with his request, the captain brought to him a reporter from the *Times*. No names were mentioned—Sir George at once asked this gentleman the question which was uppermost in his own mind.

“Can you tell me who has been appointed as the new Governor at the Cape?”

The reporter without hesitation gave an answer which settled all doubts and fears in the mind of his questioner.

“No new Governor, sir,” he said, “has been appointed. Immediately after Sir George Grey’s recall, Lord Derby’s Ministry resigned. When the new Ministry came into office, Sir George Grey was re-appointed, and a ship was sent out to the Cape to stop him from coming home.”

The sudden and unlooked for announcement of his re-appointment filled Sir George Grey with gratitude and delight. His thoughts flew over the sea to the distant land which he had recently left, and he could hear in fancy the cheers and congratulations of the

people in South Africa whose petitions were thus answered before they had been received.

His faith was not misplaced ; his work was not yet done, and he felt still more assured than ever, that until that work was accomplished for which he seemed to be chosen and to be fitted, the prejudices of his superiors, and the envy and dislike of his opponents, could not and would not prevail against him.

When it became known that he had not received his re-appointment in time to prevent his return to England, messages of friendship and congratulations poured in upon him from many quarters. Leaders in science, in religion, in politics, in naval and military circles, joined in the chorus of welcome.

The Duke of Newcastle was again in charge of the Colonial Office. He did not on this occasion, as he had done on Sir George's return from New Zealand five years previously, treat the Colonial Governor with coldness, arising from a sense of disapprobation. His first act on taking the seals of the department had been, at the Queen's request, to re-appoint Grey to the Governorship at the Cape. The despatch in which he had conveyed this information had been sent to Cape Town with instructions to Sir George not to leave the colony. It had, however, crossed the returning Governor upon the way, and a copy was given to him in London on his arrival.

A private letter from the Duke of Newcastle accompanied the despatch of August 4th, 1859, sent when he first assumed the position of Secretary for the Colonies, and learnt that Sir George had been recalled from the Government of the Cape by his predecessor, Sir Edward Lytton. The letter, dated August 5th, 1859, ends thus :—

I hope you will adopt the offer I make you in my despatch. I give you full credit for a conscientious sense of duty in the course

you have taken, and therefore believe that, if you feel your position allows it without sacrifice of public usefulness,* the same sense will induce you to subordinate all other considerations to the hope of associating your name with the consolidation of a great branch of the British Empire, in a land which has hitherto been a fertile source of political anxiety and heavy expenditure.

Grey was grieved to find that although a new Ministry had assumed power in England, the policy of non-confederation was still definitely endorsed. The Duke, in his despatch, while giving every credit to Sir George's patriotism, his wisdom and foresight, yet conveyed the unalterable decision of the Cabinet that the confederation of the States in South Africa was not desired and must not be pursued. With great regret, while accepting the re-appointment to South Africa, Sir George acceded to the terms demanded, and wrote the following letter:—

London, October 29, 1859.

My Lord Duke,—Having carefully considered your Grace's despatch, No. 13 of the 4th of August last, and reflected upon what passed at the interview with which you recently honoured me, I beg to state that I conceive it to be my duty to carry out the course I understand your Grace to wish me to pursue, and I therefore hold myself in readiness to return to the Cape of Good Hope so soon as you may have been able to prepare such instructions as you consider necessary for my future guidance.

Much that has recently taken place will render my future position at the Cape of Good Hope a very difficult one. Had I consulted my personal feelings, I should have shrunk from entering upon it; but from a sense of my duty to the Queen, to your Grace—who originally sent me to South Africa, and who has since treated me with so much consideration—and to the people of that country, I am prepared to encounter all the difficulties I shall have to meet, trusting that Her Majesty's Government will, in considering my future proceedings, make due allowance for these embarrassing circumstances.—I have, etc. G. GREY.

Before this letter was written, Sir George had many opportunities of testing the feeling held towards him

by the Duke of Newcastle and other members of the Ministry. He was gratified to find that his conduct was held in high estimation, and that he had personally gained the approval and esteem of those with whom he had so long and earnestly worked. The veto placed upon his great project for confederating South Africa was bitter in the extreme, but he felt that he might yet be able to accomplish much for the good of the people at the Cape, even though the time had not come when his great policy could be carried out. He was convinced that sooner or later his opinions in this matter would prevail; as in many other instances he was forced to give up his own plans, and to suit his actions to narrower views and less extended counsels.

The Duke felt and sympathised with Sir George Grey in his disappointment. All that could be said to encourage and to console was uttered by the Secretary for the Colonies. Speaking of Sir George's future and the self-denial which he must practise in thus relinquishing a cardinal point in his policy in South Africa, and of the difficulties which he would inevitably meet in his future government of those dependencies, the Duke promised that when his term in South Africa was completed he should receive the highest appointment in the power of the Colonial Office, the Governor-Generalship of Canada.

Men of all political parties and of all shades of political opinions have now reason to regret that the wise policy of Sir George Grey was not pursued at that time. The blood, the treasure, the passion and the suffering which Southern Africa has cost us since, would all have been spared had Sir George's plans prevailed. Of the many sins committed by Downing Street against the welfare and the happiness of the Queen's subjects in distant lands, not the least was

the blind and dogged opposition to Grey's far-seeing project of confederation in 1859.

During the course of a conversation with his friend, Mr. Greville, Sir George Grey's private secretary learned some of the particulars attending the recall of Sir George Grey. The Prime Minister, accompanied by Mr. Greville, had visited Windsor, and there Lord Derby had informed the Queen that the Cabinet had decided to advise the recall of Sir George Grey from the Cape. Her Majesty was very unwilling to assent to the advice given by her Ministers. The great services which Sir George Grey had rendered in all his governments, and especially during the late trying crisis in Imperial affairs, had disposed her strongly in his favour; and it was with feelings of repugnance that she contemplated his removal.

Lord Derby, however, pressed his advice. Ultimately the Queen yielded. Sir George Grey's recall received the royal signature, and the Premier and Mr. Greville left Windsor for London. On the journey homewards Lord Derby did not speak, nor did Mr. Greville break the silence. When parting at the railway station the Premier simply said, "I'm afraid we have done a bad thing to-day in recalling Grey from the Cape."

It afterwards gave Sir George Grey great satisfaction to know that his services had been so highly valued by the Queen, that not only did her Majesty strenuously object to his removal, but upon a change of Ministry, herself suggested to the Premier his re-appointment.

The excitement which Sir George Grey's recall had created in South Africa had no counterpart in England, but the event was of sufficient importance, and the circumstances which surrounded it so interesting, as to raise a feeling of inquiry among leading statesmen.

The Duke of Argyll invited Sir George Grey to a dinner party, at which he met a number of leading politicians and men connected with the concerns of Great Britain.

The Colonial Question, with its many ramifications, was after dinner entered into at length. Sir George Grey opened the species of discussion which ensued. He briefly touched upon the recent history of South Africa, and insisted upon the importance to Great Britain of the expansion of her colonies and the maintenance of friendly relations of the most intimate character between England and her many dependencies. In relation to the development of the colonies he proceeded to point out that in all new communities, where countries hitherto waste became the active scene of industrial and commercial life, two several species of wealth were, in fact, always created. The first consisted of the actual and tangible possessions of the new community. Its lands made valuable by the presence and the labours of men; its cities; its fleets; its flocks and herds; its stores of merchandise; its manufactures and other industries; and all possessions which could be classed as real and existing wealth. The second was found in that public credit which, though intangible, was as real and to a certain extent of as great value as the other.

In the many parts of a great but scattered nationality, especially in those where for the public benefit it became necessary to construct great public works or other improvements, this communal credit could be and ought to be, within certain limits and under wise regulations, made available for the general comfort and prosperity.

Nor should the burden of redeeming the debt so created be borne altogether by the generation then existing. Where great values and benefits were con-

ferred upon future generations, a corresponding liability might fairly be imposed. The hoarded wealth of different parts of the same people might well be employed in aiding the scattered members of their own race, who in return would give a portion of the wealth so created to those who had thus aided in its production.

He alluded especially to the railway which was then in course of construction at the Cape as an illustration of this principle, and expressed his belief that extension of assistance in this way to the outlying parts of the Empire would tend to produce a confederation, not limited to one part of the world, but extending to the most distant portions of the great British Empire. And this confederation being based, not upon government, or race, or language only, but upon a community of interest, would be likely to stand the severest strain which future contingencies could place upon it.

The majority of those present sided with Sir George Grey. Lord Lawrence, a man of few words, endorsed the opinions held by the Governor of South Africa. Lord John Russell, before leaving the room, in alluding to the estimation in which he held Sir George, when he had appointed him to the Governorship of South Australia, warmly expressed to Sir George Grey his approval of the sentiments uttered by him, which he held to be both patriotic and wise.

Macaulay, with great eloquence, also defended every position which Grey had advanced. Regarding the right which the present possessed of placing burdens commensurate with benefits upon the future, the great historian pointed out the fact that all men were more naturally interested in that which immediately concerned and touched them than in the cares or triumphs of people at a distance, either in time or space. Sir Charles Wood had urged that men would

not, and ought not, to regard the present with a greater distinctness of purpose than that which they bestowed upon the future: that, indeed, public men should be guided equally by consideration for the welfare of the coming generation as of the present; and that they should not, for the sake of a present benefit, encumber the race which was to come after them with burdens which might possibly prove heavy to bear.

Macaulay differed from Sir Charles Wood. However great the sympathy of the most sensitive man might be for others in distant places or in distant times, the present must inevitably claim the greatest consideration. He said that when he read the reports from China, by which it appeared that the Chinese Commissioner Yea had put to death a hundred thousand of the Chinese rebels, he was greatly concerned and filled with indignation. While considering this subject he hurt his thumb, and the pain was so great that it banished from his mind nearly all the sympathy for the hundred thousand Chinese unfortunates. He loved those among whom he lived; it was impossible to predict with certainty what race would occupy England in one or two hundred years, and he maintained that the present inhabitants ought not to be called upon to bear the whole burden of provision for the future.

Mr. Gladstone objected to some of the arguments and principles urged by Sir George Grey. The whole leaning of his mind appeared to be an apprehension of the too great extension of the Empire.

The Imperial views of the majority found but little favour with Mr. Gladstone. And the policy which the Duke of Newcastle had enunciated as the unanimous decision of Ministers when he fettered the re-appointment of Sir George Grey to the Cape, with the condition that the Governor must forego his plans of

confederation, was strongly and entirely endorsed by Mr. Gladstone.

The Duke of Argyll did not himself take a prominent part in the discussion. He listened with interest to the views expressed by the speakers, and to the opinions of those who, coming from the distant parts of the earth in which they had held supreme power or prosecuted wide enquiries, were well worthy of consideration and respect.

To Sir George Grey this unstudied conference afforded great pleasure. As his interviews with the Queen and Prince Albert had convinced him that Her Majesty's mind and that of her illustrious Consort endorsed and supported his own reasonings, so this chance discussion proved to his satisfaction that the learning, the culture, and the intellect of his native country were in the main favourable to those great ideas of national extension to which, during all his life, he had adhered.

During his stay in England, Sir George was on one occasion the guest of the Duke of Newcastle at Clumber. The party was somewhat large, and composed of prominent politicians and statesmen. The conditions under which he was to return to the Cape were freely canvassed. His own repugnance to the policy of dismemberment was well known, while the determination of the Government to oppose his policy of confederation in South Africa was equally public. The question was one of considerable importance, and as a consequence it was often discussed. Among the visitors was Mr. Cook, then editor and part proprietor of the *Saturday Review*. This gentleman, who had risen by his own exertions and talent from a position of obscurity, was often consulted by Ministers, and his opinions were greatly respected. He was at length definitely appealed to by the Duke of

Newcastle. Without any hesitation he decided in favour of Sir George Grey's views. "I cannot conceive," he said, "how different opinions upon this point can exist. I am astonished that successive Ministries representing both sides in politics should have so decided this important question. Sir George Grey in this matter towers above you all. I am certain that in a few years public opinion will believe you to be all in the wrong and declare Sir George Grey to be right." Public opinion did indeed change some years afterwards, but in 1859 it was inflexibly disposed against the policy of federation, and favoured the reduction of the Empire.

CHAPTER XXXII.

VISIT TO THE QUEEN AND HONOURS AT CAMBRIDGE.

“ I long
To hear the story of your life, which must
Take the ear strangely.”

The Tempest.

SIR GEORGE GREY was received with great cordiality and kindness both by the Queen and Prince Albert. The Prince informed him of Her Majesty's approval of the measures taken by him, and the policy of confederation which he had pursued, expressing without hesitation her opinion that the plans proposed were beneficent, worthy of a great ruler, honourable to herself, and advantageous to her people.

It was at this time that Sir George proposed the visit of Prince Alfred to South Africa. The tour of the Prince of Wales through America suggested the possibility as well as the propriety of a Royal visit to the other colonies. There were, at the Cape public functions which the young Prince could perform. The breakwater was to be commenced, the public library to be opened. The colonists would be pleased beyond measure. All persons would share in the welcome—Boers of the Transvaal, Free Staters of the Orange River, Kafirs, Basutos, Colonists, Dutch, English, and colonial-born, whatever their feelings toward each other might be, would join in the heartiest welcome to Victoria's son, and so reveal their common appre-

ciation of the great qualities of the Queen and their personal regard for her.

Prince Alfred listened with delight to stories of South African life and adventure. He was eager to embrace Sir George's offer. Without much demur, after consideration the Queen and Prince Albert consented, the matter being finally settled at Buckingham Palace. When Sir George had returned and made all necessary arrangements, the young Prince was to sail for Cape Town.

Before his departure to resume the duties of his Governorship, Sir George had opportunities of seeing and conversing with the Prince Consort. In Albert the Good he found an earnest sympathy both with the colonies and colonists, and he was beyond measure pleased to be told by the Prince that, in his opinion, if a nation ceased to take a real interest in every part of its dominions, and to do all the good it could on the outskirts of its power, it would be like a tree which had ceased to grow—the time of decay would have commenced. He perfectly agreed with Sir George's views as to opening up new country. He said that he and the Queen had read all that Sir George had written on the subject, and that it was greatly to the Queen's regret that she had been led to consent to his recall, and that she had done much to get that decision reversed.

It was during this visit to England that the University of Cambridge, following the example set by Oxford five years before, conferred its highest honours upon Sir George Grey.

The customs at Cambridge differed, as Sir George found, from those at Oxford. In place of going up alone and unattended to receive the honours of the University, as he remembered doing when the students, after cheering Prince Buonaparte, sang in his

honour "The King of the Cannibal Islands," he found that it was the rule that the candidate or recipient attended at the Senate House at Cambridge accompanied by many friends. Naturally, Sir George had but few friends or even acquaintances at the University. This circumstance opened the way for a kind and considerate act on the part of Mr. Gladstone. Three gentlemen besides Sir George Grey were this day to receive the honorary degree—Bishop Wilberforce; Mr. Walpole, who had left the Ministry on a question of political principle, for which he had sacrificed place and power; and Mr. Gladstone. The latter, judging that Grey must know but few people, called for him at the Vice-Chancellor's, and the two walked up side by side, accompanied by a great number of Mr. Gladstone's friends and admirers.

Immediately before the ceremonies began, Sir George learned that an address, by way of thanks for the dignity conferred, was expected of every individual whom the University delighted to honour. He became uneasy. Accustomed as he was to issue commands and to hold conferences upon political matters with Ministers and others, he yet felt decidedly ill at ease at the prospect before him. When writing, his thoughts flowed readily enough, and the logic and sequence of his numerous despatches show him to have always been a master of English and a clear logician. But he was unaccustomed to what is designated "public speaking." To be called upon at a moment's notice to address the *alumni* of a great school of learning, to submit himself to a comparison with three well-known orators, one of whom was already looked upon by many as the greatest master of the English tongue then living, before one of the most critical audiences which England could furnish, was well calculated to render a sensitive mind anxious

and uneasy. He was at a complete loss what to say or on what subject to dilate, and so it happened that Sir George Grey, who had faced so many dangers and controlled so many difficult circumstances, found himself for once absolutely unnerved.

Mr. Gladstone was the first called upon to return thanks. The rising statesman had not spoken for five minutes before a sense of complete ease and comfort spread itself over Sir George Grey's mind. Unconsciously Mr. Gladstone was giving a theme to Sir George, and thus adding to the obligation already bestowed by his kindness. The future Prime Minister spoke upon the inadvisability of expending so much strength and money in foreign missions, and urged that their efforts should be concentrated on the great centres of population in Great Britain, where millions of English people were growing up in practical heathenism.

When his turn came to speak, Sir George proceeded to criticise and comment upon the position which he thought had been too strongly taken up by Mr. Gladstone. To centralise and restrict missionary efforts would be to stunt the Christian growth of the Church. In commerce, in science, in philanthropy, expansion ensured health and strength. He cited the personal history and position of Mr. Gladstone himself in illustration. His wide acquaintance with foreign matters, his converse with politics and people in many lands, his contemplation of distant affairs in no sense impaired his energy or usefulness in England. On the contrary, the knowledge thus gained, the sympathy thus expanded, and the experience thus enlarged, had, as it were, educated and fitted him more completely to fill the important positions to which the

voice of public opinion evidently called him. He concluded a long and vigorous address amid general applause.

Next morning some of the leading newspapers, in reporting the proceedings, expressed astonishment that at such a time and place a speech of over an hour in length was listened to, not only with patience, but with pleasure.

CHAPTER

PRINCE ALFRED'S VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA.

"I thank you for your voices ; thank you ;
Your most sweet voices."

Coriolanus.

EARLY in the year 1860 Sir George Grey returned to Cape Town. The news of his reappointment had reached the colony in September of the previous year. It had been received with a joy as unanimous and sincere as the sorrow caused by his recall. From the Government offices in Cape Town to the distant mission stations on the lakes and rivers, the tidings of the reappointment of their venerated ruler gave rise to unqualified delight. All classes and all races vied with each other in their expressions of gratitude to the Queen and of attachment to the Governor.

So great had been the change worked during his administration, so prosperous had the South African communities become during the five years of his governorship, that the feeling of gratification at his return was both spontaneous and irrepressible.

A great crowd assembled to welcome the Governor upon his arrival. Music, flags, and cheers marked his return to the Cape. The fears and sense of insecurity which had overshadowed the whole land, passed away, while hope and confidence were re-established.

The event itself will never be forgotten ; and for

many years yet to come parents will tell their children the story of Sir George Grey's wise administration, of his sudden recall, and of the enthusiasm evoked by his reappearance.

It would be impossible to give even an abstract of the numerous letters which Sir George Grey received from all parts of South Africa rejoicing in his return. A translation of one, however, may be given as expressing the feeling shown in all. The writer of that we have chosen for this purpose was a chief of great importance, who ruled over the country to the south-east of the Orange Free State.

My Lord,—Our sorrow and regret is now turned into sincere joy and gratitude by the cheering news of Your Excellency's return to the shores of South Africa as the Representative of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain. And we beg to congratulate Your Excellency and Lady Grey upon your safe arrival into this country, amidst a people that love you, and pray that your exalted wisdom and Christian firmness may long be spared to them.

We also desire to tender our warmest thanks to Her Majesty Queen Victoria for being an eye to the blind in sending a God-fearing man as Governor and High Commissioner to this benighted land, whose philanthropic heart has done so much already for the temporal and spiritual improvement of the aborigines both here and in other countries, and whose name guarantees further blessings for the future.—I remain Your Excellency's most obedient servant, in the name of my people, CHIEF MOROKA.

The demonstrations of joy at Sir George Grey's return as Governor were hardly at an end when the people of Cape Town began to look forward eagerly to another occasion of rejoicing. This was the promised visit of Prince Alfred. Never had the Queen's subjects in South Africa seen any of the Royal Family in that portion of her dominions. Sir George knew that the presence of the Sailor Prince in their midst would not only give great pleasure to the colonists, but would

also greatly strengthen their loyalty by adding warm personal attachment to their lawful obedience.

When tidings were received that H.M.S. *Euryalus*, with the royal midshipman on board, had sailed for Cape Colony, the greatest excitement prevailed. It was not known what port she was bound for, but the residents of Cape Town expected to see the English man-of-war with the Royal standard floating proudly from her masthead, gliding through the blue waters of Table Bay. The delight of first sighting her was, however, not for them, but for the inhabitants of Simon's Town at the other side of the Cape of Good Hope. Directly the news of her arrival at Simon's Town was made known, a pleasant excitement spread abroad—shops and places of business were deserted—triumphal arches spanned the road by which the young Prince must come to Government House at Cape Town; flags waved from every spire and staff, streamed from windows and balconies, or floated out in the breeze in long lines of brilliant colour overhead. Thousands of expectant faces in Cape Town turned towards the road from Simon's Bay. Thousands of throats grew hoarse with cheering as the open carriage with its grey horses drew near, and the round, boyish face of their royal visitor beamed with gratification at their enthusiastic welcome.

At the entrance to Cape Town Sir George Grey was waiting on horseback to receive his distinguished guest. There Prince Alfred mounted also, and rode the rest of the way by the Governor's side. Such a mingling of races, colours, creeds, languages and dress is not often seen as the streets of Cape Town contained that day. Still less frequently does such a cosmopolitan gathering display such unanimous feeling. Boers, English, Germans, Fingoes, Zulus, and Kafirs all united in welcoming their Queen's son, and

in expressing their love for their Governor. Suddenly a Kafir stepped out of the crowd and caught 'hold of the reins of the Prince's horse. The movement was momentary, and Sir George at once spoke to him and he retired, merely saying, "I wished to do honour to the Queen that sent us out our good Sir George Grey."

That night the capital was magnificently illuminated. Several days were pleasantly spent at Government House. Balls, dinner parties, receptions, drives and excursions to different points of interest, occupied the time, and made Prince Alfred acquainted with the neighbourhood and its residents. One of the most interesting of these excursions was a visit to the Kafir school at Zonnebloem, founded by the Governor. But Sir George was desirous that the Royal lad should see more of South African life than was shown in the festivities at Cape Town. He therefore planned an excursion through Cape Colony, Kaffraria, the Orange River Free State, and Natal.

In accordance with this programme, the party embarked in the *Euryalus* at Simon's Town and sailed for Port Elizabeth, from which town they were to proceed overland to the frontier. When Prince Alfred stepped into the boat which was to convey them to the man-of-war, Sir George Grey was amused and touched by the rapid transition from a royal prince to a simple midshipman. Respectfully saluting, Prince Alfred stood by and offered assistance while Sir Grey stepped in, plainly indicating that their relative positions were changed, and that at sea His Excellency the Governor must take precedence of the "middy."

Arriving at Port Elizabeth on the 6th of August, the Prince was able to celebrate his birthday there amidst rejoicings which rivalled those of Cape Town. The citizens were hardly restrained, by the Governor's urgent desire, from taking the six greys out of the

carriage in which Prince Alfred and he rode and drawing it themselves. Very reluctantly they relinquished their purpose. Visits were paid to the Grey Institute (where the scholars received a holiday on the recommendation of the founder and patron of their establishment), and several other public buildings. In the evening a large ball was given in honour of the visitors.

A hunt across the Amsterdam flats commenced the ride from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown. For three hours the vice-regal party and royal guest coursed over the plains at a glorious rate. The royal midddy was foremost in the chase and thoroughly enjoyed the rousing gallop.

Crossing the rivers on pontoon bridges, stopping for meals and sleeping at comfortable inns, spending the hours of daylight in the saddle amidst the romantic scenery of the mountain passes or the park-like beauty of the undulating plains—the journey to Grahamstown would have been enjoyable enough to the ordinary tourist. But a special delight was afforded Prince Alfred by the manifestations of welcome and joy at his coming. The enthusiasm of the people was shown not only by the decorations on the road, but by their assembling from far distant parts of the country to greet the party.

The entrance to Grahamstown was made under triumphal arches and waving flags, amid the thunders of artillery, the stirring strains of military music, and the deafening cheers of the populace. Above the kaleidoscopic changing of the brilliant but harmonious colour in the street, the motto on one triumphal arch was a paradox:

“With all the bright colours this world can display,
The frontier avers there is nothing like *Grey*.”

King Williamstown was reached six day later. Then

the young Prince saw the magnificent memorial which English troops had erected in the shape of the Grey Hospital.

From this point the expedition turned away from the coast and proceeded nearly due north. For ten days they rode on towards Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State. Such a journey was an entirely new experience to Prince Alfred. As the cavalcade passed along the grassy and woodless plateaux of Kaffraria, or forded the rapid mountain torrents which rushed down from the western heights and cut their way through deep, wooded ravines to the sea, everything was novel and pleasing to him.

As he and Sir George Grey dismounted from their horses, stiff and tired, and watched the gorgeous colours of the South African sunset lighting up the busy scene of camping, the clumsy Cape waggons drawn up and out-spanned for the night, and the usual evening preparations being made; or later, after a hearty meal of plain fare had been eaten with more relish than any banquet ever spread in palaces, with the camp fire brightly burning, and the more steadfast and brilliant shining of the southern constellations overhead, the English boy felt all the fascination of the scene. Even the discomforts of the excursion had a charm of their own. Fatigue, hunger, rough lodging, and the absence of many small everyday luxuries and indulgences, are (one or all) attendant upon most of the favourite sports and pastimes of his race, and a certain pleasure in occasionally "roughing it" is felt by the Anglo-Saxon.

To Sir George Grey, who had known real deprivation, and looked starvation steadily in the face, whose immense powers of endurance had been taxed to their utmost limit, and whose determination alone had conquered physical weakness and saved the lives of

his party in the Australian exploration twenty years before, the present was merely a picnic. Indeed, it made very little difference in his usual habits, which were simple in the extreme. He was always abstemious, and seldom indulged in anything beyond the barest necessities of life. The scenes through which they passed had not the novelty for him that they possessed for Prince Alfred, but he heartily enjoyed his visitor's youthful enthusiasm and delight.

While hunting one day on the borders of the Transvaal, the young Prince and the Governor became separated from the rest of the party. They had breakfasted about four o'clock, and as the hours went by the idea of lunch became more and more pleasant, though less hopeful. The sight of a Boer's hut about two o'clock in the afternoon was gladly welcomed, especially by the younger of the two riders, whose healthy appetite had been sharpened by the fresh air and long abstinence.

They were hospitably entertained by the occupant of the little dwelling, an old woman, who cooked some exceedingly greasy pancakes for them. The Prince's appetite was not at all spoiled by the fact that the appointments of the table were rather more primitive than at Buckingham Palace. In the absence of spoons and forks, he rolled up his pancake and ate it from his fingers with intense relish, telling Sir George it was "the most delicious pancake" he had ever tasted. His companion, less hungry, and accustomed to much longer fasting, was quietly amused at such high appreciation of the greasy compound.

When, on leaving, the Governor told the kind hostess who her guest was, the old woman was almost overcome with the thought that she had been entertaining "the son of the Queen." It is easy to

believe that there are certain objects regarded as sacred relics in that remote hut in the Transvaal, and jealously guarded to this day.

The Governor and his party crossed the Drakensberg Mountains through wide, shrubby kloofs. High above them towered lofty inaccessible peaks, their rugged outlines rendered wilder looking by the stiff, pointed foliage of countless euphorbias and aloes, whose bristles bid defiance alike to fire and drought. They passed through numerous settlements, native villages, mission stations, and everywhere the same enthusiastic welcome met them.

As they penetrated more deeply into the country, Prince Alfred was regarded with much curiosity by the natives. "The Queen" had hardly hitherto been a real personage to them, but rather a powerful deity, and they were much surprised to see her son real flesh and blood. But with Sir George Grey it was different. He was their "father," their friend. They had heard that he was taken away from them and was never coming back—and then, to their joy, he had returned. Now, for the first time since that return, he had come amongst them; and the greatest cause they had to thank the Gracious Queen was, that she had sent them back their good Governor.

At every town or settlement they entered, addresses were presented to the Prince and the Governor, all testifying to the loyalty and hearty affection of the people for their distant Queen, and their satisfaction with the Government. One from the Kafirs of St. Mark's Mission Station contained the following passage:—

"We beg leave to express our great pleasure on seeing the son of Queen Victoria. We wish to express to him our feelings of love towards our Queen for having sent so wise a man as Sir George Grey to

rule over this country. We have seen the good things which he has done, and we ourselves were saved from death by him after we had blindly followed the words of the false prophet, Umhlakaza, in killing our cattle and destroying our corn. We ourselves are living under the Christian law, and many of us have joined heartily in the Christian faith. Our children are taught in the Mission schools the law of Christ, and through the kindness of Sir George Grey our sons are learning useful trades, whereby they will shortly be able to earn a good living."

At the conclusion of the address Sir George Grey shook hands with many of the natives, and asked for some writing that had been done in the schools to be given to the Prince, and when this was complied with, Prince Alfred declared, to the great gratification of the scholars, that he would take the writing to England and show it to the Queen. The Tambookie tribes, anxious to see Prince Alfred, assembled at a certain point on the road. Not knowing the exact date at which he might be expected, they were there two days before he came. Then they heard that he had taken a shorter way. Fortunately, Prince Alfred had not gone very far when he heard what disappointment his non-appearance would cause, and turned back. The natives showed great delight and enthusiasm, singing their best war-songs and chants of welcome, the latter consisting chiefly of the words: "We have seen the child of heaven. We have seen the son of our Queen." Some of the chiefs were introduced to the young Prince, and one presented him with an assegai as a token of respect.

• "His Excellency Sir George Grey conversed freely with the chiefs, exhorted them to continue firm in their loyalty to Her Majesty, and took particular pains to impress upon them the great interest which

our beloved Queen took in their welfare, as well as in that of all her other South African subjects, a greater proof of which she could not have given than that of thus sending her son, whom she so dearly loved, to this distant country as her representative. The chiefs were loud in their expressions of gratitude and promises of loyalty, and they also expressed in glowing language the satisfaction they felt at the return of Sir George Grey again to be their Governor, calling him their father and their best friend, and promising implicit obedience to all his commands."*

The inhabitants of Queenstown had drawn up addresses of welcome and congratulation to Sir George Grey on again resuming the government of the colony, which they wished to present publicly. The Governor, however, declined to take any prominent position in receiving them, preferring that the young Prince should always occupy the most important place.

At Lessecytown the natives assembled and sang songs of welcome. "Never did black faces beam with greater delight than did those of these people as they looked for the first time on a Prince of the Royal House, and as they greeted once more their venerated and much-loved Governor. On Sir George Grey they seem to look as upon a father."† •

They presented an address, from which the following quotation is made :

"We pray thee to convey our thanks to our Queen for the great good-luck of seeing thee, and also for all the great and good things she has done for us by the hands of our beloved Governor, Sir George Grey."

The institution to which these people belonged owed its origin to Sir George Grey and the interest which

* Extract from newspaper account of proceedings.—*Free Press*. Queenstown.

† Queenstown paper.

he took in the advancement of the natives. A Queens-town paper thus speaks of the impressions generally made by the visitors :

"We had read and heard much of the affability, courtesy, condescension, sense, and friendly bearing of Prince Alfred, and of the more than paternal care with which Sir George Grey watches over him, and the manner in which the excellent qualities of the two combined at once strike home to the heart and take hold upon a people's affections. But the half had not been told us. Their visit was brief, but it has left many pleasant reminiscences; and often and fervently shall we wish and pray for long life and happiness to our Royal Prince Alfred, and long life and happiness to our noble Governor, Sir George Grey."

On August 19th they met the great chief Moshesh at Aliwal. He had left his own place and, at a great age, undertaken a long and trying journey in order to shake hands with them.

Next day they arrived at Smithfield, which presented the same festive appearance as all the other towns they had passed through. Crossing into the Free States they reached Bloemfontein, the capital, on August 23rd. The keynote to the feeling of the inhabitants was supplied by the motto of a triumphal arch, "Loyal, tho' discarded." Adam Kok here awaited the Prince and the Governor.

Some of the most enthusiastic sportsmen in the Orange Free State were determined that Prince Alfred should take part in a more magnificent hunt than any Royal Prince had ever seen. Accordingly for some days before his arrival about a thousand Barolongs, under their chief, Moroka, were busily occupied in beating up the game from the adjacent country close to Bloemfontein. On the morning of the 24th the hunt commenced. The Barolongs divided into two

parties and rode off right and left, dropping a man every hundred yards or so. After forming a continuous straight line for some miles, both parties turned inwards till they met, thus completing the circle. The quantity of game shut in by the hunters could not have been less than twenty-five thousand head.

A member of the Royal party, who took an active part in the hunt, gives the following account :

“The several kinds of game—ostriches, Burchell’s zebras, wildebeestes, bonteboks, springboks—kept generally each kind in separate herds or droves, crossing and re-crossing one another in the greatest confusion and terror, as they careered along the line seeking for a point through which they might break. A drove of wildebeestes, fierce with terror, would make a wild rush at some apparently weak point in the living fence, and—amidst clouds of dust, the falling of the dying ones, the tumbling of those living over those who were slain, the roar caused by the trampling of so many galloping feet over the ground, the bellowing of the wounded wildebeestes, the shouts and cries of the Barolongs, the continual popping of the guns and rifles—would resolutely break through the line, and madly career off into the apparently boundless plain. At some points would be seen riders falling, horse and all; at others, horses whose riders were thrown, galloping here and there with the game.”

Beside the larger game mentioned a great number of Cape jerboas, of meerkats, cobras, and oribis (a small and graceful species of antelope), were driven in with the surging mass, while a vast crowd of vultures hovered in the air or swooped upon the dead bodies.

The Royal party proceeded as far north as Winburg, and then turned eastward, crossing the Drakensberg Mountains, entering Natal upon the 31st. The inhabi-

tants of Pietermaritzburg were nowise behind those of the other towns visited in their demonstrations of loyalty and pleasure at seeing Prince Alfred. A local paper, alluding to the most important members of the young Prince's party, first speaks of Sir George Grey as "the most intelligent of statesmen, the best and most popular of Governors, the political benefactor of Natal, the friend and defender of the people. God bless him! say we and many another grateful heart."

They left Pietermaritzburg for D'Urban on the 5th of September, and found the Euryalus waiting for them at the latter place. Embarking, they returned to Cape Town, landing once more in Simon's Town on the 14th of September.

The overland tour that had been taken amounted to fully twelve hundred miles. The distance was covered in a month. The average rate of forty miles a day on horseback or in the waggons, over such rough roads and broken country, was very fair.

"It was certainly a progress such as no Royal Prince had ever 'done' before—among wild beasts and wild men, over mountain ranges and desert tracts, and fertile pastures; from the homes of European civilization to the huts of barbarism, from the centre of the hostile hordes who for so many long years waged war upon our advancing colonisation, to the rapidly progressing prosperity of Natal, then (though not now) Britain's youngest colonial settlement in Africa. And wherever he appeared, the welcome that greeted him was alike cordial and enthusiastic. The English settler and the Dutch boer were equally sincere in their fervent loyalty; and the natives, whether aboriginal, Hottentot, Fingo, Kafir, Basuto, or Zulu, were more loudly demonstrative still. But of all the characteristic features that marked this jour-

ney, perhaps the most striking and suggestive, and certainly not the least gratifying, was the extent to which the self-reliant spirit of the European inhabitants of South Africa displayed itself, in the organisation of volunteer corps and burgher forces for mutual defence, against all encroachments of an enemy.*

Sandilli, the paramount chief of the Tambookies, with his councillors, accepted an invitation to accompany the Prince's party from Natal to Cape Town in the *Euryalus*. The voyage was a rough one, and the Kafirs, whose dread of the ocean is unconquerable, suffered horribly. A great impression was made on their minds by the sight of Prince Alfred, the loved, admired, and venerated royal visitor, fresh from the triumphs and adulation of his tour through South Africa, resuming his ordinary midly's duties. They saw the boy whose coming had caused tens of thousands of hearts to beat more quickly, and had aroused unbounded enthusiasm and delight in four great States and many different races, now rising with the dawn to assist in washing down the decks. As he splashed about barefooted, all distinctions of rank merged, not in equality, but in the discipline and priority of the naval service, they wondered.

The following translation of an address, which they presented to Captain Tarleton before leaving the *Euryalus*, amply expresses their feelings:—

Sandilli and his councillors give thanks. By the invitation of the great Chief, the son of the Queen of the English people, are we this day on board this mighty vessel.

The invitation was accepted with fear. With dread we came on board, and in trouble have we witnessed the dangers of the great waters, but through your skill have we passed through this tribulation.

* "The Progress of Prince Alfred through South Africa."—S. S. Solomon and Co., Cape Town, 1861.

We have seen what our ancestors heard not of. Now have we grown old and learned wisdom. The might of England has been fully illustrated to us, and now we behold our madness in taking up arms to resist the authority of our mighty and gracious Sovereign. Up to this time have we not ceased to be amazed at the wonderful things we have witnessed, and which are beyond our comprehension. But one thing we understand, the reason of England's greatness, when the son of her great Queen becomes subject to a subject that he may learn wisdom ; when the sons of England's chiefs and nobles leave the homes and wealth of their fathers, and with their young Prince endure hardships and sufferings in order that they may be wise, and become a defence to their country. When we behold these things, we see why the English are a great and mighty nation.

What we have now learnt shall be transmitted to our wondering countrymen, and handed down to our children, who will be wiser than their fathers, and your mighty Queen shall be their Sovereign and ours in all time coming.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CLOSE OF PRINCE ALFRED'S VISIT.

"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin."
Shakespeare.

"Peace hath her victories,
No less renowned than war."
Milton.

PRINCE ALFRED could only spend a few days at the Cape on his return from the tour through the colony. A great many ceremonies had to be compressed into that time. Landing on Friday, arrangements were immediately made for a fête and fancy fair in the Botanic Gardens to be held next day, succeeded by a dinner and ball at Government House.

Monday, September 17th, was the most memorable day of the Prince's whole visit, for it was signalised by the commencement of the breakwater in Table Bay—the principal object with which he had come to Cape Colony.

The great drawback to the progress of Cape Town was its dangerous harbour. Without shelter from the westerly or southerly gales, all shipping was liable to destruction which might be caught in Table Bay by the fierce winds occasionally sweeping the surges of the Atlantic to the foot of Table Mountain. For two hundred years the Dutch and English colonists had suffered from this cause. Many a gallant bark, unable to put to sea, had, in the violent storms

which burst upon that coast, strewn the beach with its timbers and its crew.

From the moment of his first landing as Governor, Sir George had contemplated the possibility of constructing a breakwater, which would be at once a harbour of refuge, a convenience to commerce, and an inestimable public blessing. Busy as the Governor was with the many duties and engagements of his official life, he yet from time to time thought of the project with pleasure, but was unable to enter actively into its prosecution. Strolling one morning with some visitors along the beach to the eastward of Cape Town, his foot slipped from the crest of a little ridge of sand. Surprised at the circumstance, the Governor looked for the cause. A skull was partially uncovered where his foot had slipped, and from the bleached bone there floated a lock of golden hair.

The story was soon told. A ship bearing as its passengers a large number of female convicts sent abroad to New South Wales—many of them for incredibly trivial offences, had cast anchor in the Bay. During the night a gale sprang up—the ship dragged her anchors, and by the morning had gone to pieces—not a soul, it is believed, being saved. The bodies had been buried beneath the ridge on which they were then standing.

As Sir George looked at the silent skull and golden hair, he thought of the agony which must have wrung the heart of the poor girl and her comrades, and on the instant determined to lose no time, and spare no effort to raise a haven of safety in Table Bay for all future time.

He began to gather information. He sounded the public leaders so as to gain the opinions and wishes of the people. Estimates of expense, of labour, and of time were made, a correspondence with the great

engineer, Sir John Coode, ensued, and all steps were taken which could lead to the commencement and final completion of this necessary public work.

When recalled by the despatch of Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, he left behind him a Bill which he had proposed to lay before the Parliament at its next sitting, providing for the construction of the harbour. It was one among the many causes of regret at his sudden departure from South Africa, that this project remained unfulfilled. He commended it to all public men, and left it as a sacred trust to his successor.

Upon his return from England he found the Parliament in session, but to his surprise and mortification, a great disaster had befallen his favourite plan. General Wynyard, the Acting-Governor, knowing the strong desire of Sir George Grey for the successful passage of the Act, and not being sure of the disposition of any Governor who might succeed him, and influenced, it may be, by a laudable ambition to have his name connected with the gift of a harbour to Cape Town, had pushed the Bill somewhat hurriedly in the Legislature.

A debate had arisen, during which it became evident that the conservative instinct of the Boers was very strong. Their fathers had been able to do without a harbour. Why should not they? Table Bay had afforded sufficient accommodation for the generations past. Why should it not still be sufficient? The expense would be very great. Who was to bear it? Years would elapse before any benefit at all would be derived. Possibly the structure itself would be a failure, in which case the dangers of the harbour would be increased instead of lessened. Their fathers, who were as clever as people in these days, had failed to build. Were men nowadays likely to succeed?

Finally the question went to a division, and the Bill was thrown out.

A few days after this, Sir George Grey arrived to resume his duties. With somewhat hesitating tones, General Wynyard told him of the ill-fate which had attended the Harbour Bill. But the Governor was equal to the occasion. He was determined that the breakwater should be built.

At the first Council meeting he made known his determination to his advisers. They were in despair. Having once resolved to refuse the Bill, they believed that the members would stubbornly adhere to their determination, and the probability of a struggle between the Governor and the Parliament immediately after his triumphant return from England filled them with dismay. But Sir George was not to be denied. The estimates for the year had not yet been submitted to the Assembly. He inserted the amount necessary for the beginning of the work, and declared his resolution to pass no vote for the expenditure unless this item was included in it.

The much-feared struggle was soon ended. Many of the members, delighted at the return of their beloved Governor, were willing to yield to his personal influence what they would not sanction in the prior debate. A single night's discussion ended the matter. The vote was carried by a small majority, and the estimates were passed.

On the 17th of September the most numerous assemblage of Europeans ever gathered together in South Africa stood upon the rising ground fronting the sea, to witness the laying of the first stone of the harbour by Prince Alfred. Sudden storms marred the beauty of the day, but they did not last long, and between them the sun shone out brilliantly. Beneath the shadow of that mountain, whose flat crest had

given the name to itself and the bay beneath it, twenty thousand people took part in a ceremony which was in the highest sense historical.

Before the proceedings commenced, amid a deep and reverential silence, a special prayer, composed for the occasion, was offered up to God. Then the Prince, pulling a trigger, dropped into the sea the first stones of that splendid breakwater which now gives safety and comfort to the commerce of South Africa.

On Tuesday morning the Prince laid the foundation stone of the "Alfred Sailors' Home," which was erected as a special memorial of his visit. In the afternoon he inaugurated the new Library and Museum. This building had been commenced three years before under the influence and encouragement of Sir George Grey. The collection of books numbered between thirty and forty thousand volumes. Sir John Herschell called it "the bright eye of the Cape."

Sir George Grey's address on this occasion was received with unbounded enthusiasm. He commenced by pointing out the full significance of Prince Alfred's visit, and particularly his action that day. "A youthful Prince has come to visit us here, upon the extremity of this ancient continent, which was the cradle of civilisation and art, when Egypt was in its glory and its prime, with its teeming populations, its skilful artisans, its gorgeous and massive buildings, while the greater part of Europe still slumbered in savage barbarism. He comes from a land which, when the north of this continent on which we stand was old in science and art, was regarded as almost beyond the confines of the habitable earth, and was only peopled by hordes of painted and lawless savages; and yet he comes to us, a poor, a scattered,

and still struggling people, from what is now the centre of Christianity and of civilisation—from that great heart, the ceaseless pulsations of which scatter truth, swarms of industrious immigrants, crowds of traders, and streams of commerce throughout the world. Europe, which in its comparative youth of civilisation adopted Christianity, has sent to us, as well as to so many other parts of the earth, all that can render this life valuable to man or prepare him for a future state. This ancient continent has sent us little to brighten or embellish life, but has strewn thickly, with perils and difficulties, the path which lies before the now rising and future nations of South Africa.” He then went on to show how time after time the slight beginnings of civilisation and learning had been swept away by ignorance, sloth, and barbarism in Africa; while in Europe gross superstition and degrading customs had been steadily replaced by Christianity and freedom.

“Yet, with apparently such slight encouragement before us, we here in the South of Africa have again boldly entered on the attempt to establish civilisation and Christianity in this continent, and to spread their blessings through the boundless territories which lie beyond our borders. . . . We are a small and scattered people, with many dangers and enemies around us and in our front, and with a task before us requiring all our energies and well and ripely-matured plans if we hope to accomplish it. And we do not doubt that we shall succeed, for the cause we labour for is the promotion of truth and knowledge, and the carrying out of God’s service upon earth.”

The first book placed upon the bookshelves by His Royal Highness was a rare and priceless MS. in Greek of the Gospels, the gift of Sir George Grey. After Prince Alfred had also presented Knight’s

Shakespeare and Pictorial History of England as his own gift to the institution, he returned to the daïs, and gave through Sir George Grey to the people and Legislature of the Cape Colony a splendid portrait of the Queen. The national anthem was sung, and the Prince declared the institution opened.

Mr. Porter, the Attorney-General, fittingly acknowledged, on behalf of the Library Committee and the public, the honour which the Prince had done them, and their gratitude to Sir George Grey. In the course of his remarks he said, "Of Sir George Grey I need not speak. His character as a lover of learning is well and widely known; and a lover of learning he ought to be, because he is not merely one of the large class who write books, but one of the rarer class about whom books are written; and because independently of belonging to both these classes, he knows and feels that good books are great blessings, and that knowledge is not merely power but enjoyment. . . . Let His Royal Highness be assured that he carries away with him the heartiest good wishes of all ranks, races, creeds, and colours in South Africa; that the people here, confident that in after life he will tread no path but that of honour, will watch with interest his future career, and that they will ever reckon it as one of the many services rendered to them by their Governor, Sir George Grey (cheers), that through his instrumentality the auspicious visit of Prince Alfred was arranged—a visit which has, as it were, annihilated ocean spaces, and brought us in feeling so close to the old Mother Country that we seem to see her cliffs again." In concluding his address, he called upon all present to give way to their enthusiasm, and thus testify their gratitude to Prince Alfred and Sir George Grey. The response was given in such cheers as are seldom heard, while the

large assembly, throwing off conventional restraints, gave way to unbounded joy.

Next morning (September 19th) the Prince embarked. Before leaving the shores of South Africa he took part in one final ceremony. That was to declare the recently finished Prince Alfred's Jetty open for public traffic. This he did after having driven in the last silver bolt. Then shaking hands with many of his new friends, he entered his barge and proceeded to the Euryalus, realising with regret that his visit to South Africa was at an end.

Among those who accompanied Prince Alfred to the end of the jetty was the old chief Sandilli. As the Royal party passed between the two lines of soldiery, these lines closed in behind them. Sandilli told Sir George afterwards that it was with terrible misgivings he saw that impenetrable military force blocking up the pathway by which he had come. Suspicious of treachery, and accustomed to the cunning strategy of his barbaric foes, he realised with a sinking heart how completely he was in the power of the Governor. If, when the boat was reached, Sir George Grey should order him to take his seat in it, he felt that resistance would be vain. With every step he took, two more armed men closed in and added to the force which made retreat impossible. His fear was very real, though no trace of it appeared in the proud bearing of the old warrior.

The friendship cemented in South Africa between the Prince and the Governor has never been broken nor even disturbed. During the few months in which the guardianship of Prince Alfred was, as it were, confided to Sir George Grey, the latter made every effort to direct the mind of the Sailor Prince to the proper consideration of public affairs. In the Prince's presence, the Representative of the Queen received

the native chiefs and discussed matters of state with them. When the Executive Council sat, Prince Alfred had a seat at the Council Board, and watched with interest the proceedings. To his hand was entrusted the commencement of those great public undertakings which made the history of that time memorable in Southern Africa. Nor did Sir George fail to impress upon the mind of his young and illustrious guest those lessons of wisdom and of faithfulness in government of which he himself had learned the value both in theory and practice.

Yet, amid this stately procession of wise counsels and great undertakings, the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh was one continued series of festivities and rejoicing. The universal welcome never ceased; the natural beauties of that part of the earth were seen and admired; and the pleasures of the chase were not forgotten or neglected.

It is not surprising that the Queen and Prince Albert felt grateful to Sir George Grey for the care and kindness lavished upon their son. In the letter which Her Majesty addressed to Sir George the heart of the mother speaks more strongly than the voice of the Queen :

“Though Sir George Grey will receive the official expression of the Queen’s high sense of the manner in which Prince Alfred has been received at the Cape, she is anxious to express personally both the Prince Consort’s and her own thanks for the very great kindness Sir George Grey showed our child during his most interesting tour in that fine colony; and she trusts that the effect produced on the nation and people in general will be as lasting and beneficial as it must have been on Prince Alfred to have witnessed the manner in which Sir George Grey devotes his

whole time and energy to promote the happiness and welfare of his fellow-creatures."

The Queen sent to Sir George not merely a letter of thanks, which, though it would be remembered must be laid aside for preservation, but another memento which, being perpetually in the personal care and manual possession of the recipient, would always remind him of those days in South Africa when Prince Alfred and he were together—a pocket chronometer with an inscription such as a grateful Queen might indite to her faithful servant, was sent by Her Majesty to Sir George. For more than thirty years that timepiece has been his constant companion, and thus has continually reminded him of the pleasant past.

Nor will the Duke of Edinburgh, when he reads these pages, be displeased to hear that Sir George Grey has followed his career of public duty with increasing interest and pleasure.

It is strangely remarkable that the greatest chief of the native tribes in our South African dominions should instantly have recognised that the performance of the ordinary duties of the State by its princes, in common with and by the side of subjects of the Crown, is the surest evidence of public virtue, and the surest guarantee of public safety. Bearing this in mind, he observed that with the highest civilisation the necessity of the most noble setting such an example was recognised as a duty of paramount importance, although among uncivilised people such a thing was regarded as a terrible degradation.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE GREY COLLEGE.

“ Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us
range,
Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of
change ;
Thro’ the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day,
Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.”
Locksley Hall.

ALTHOUGH the Orange River territory had been abandoned by the Imperial Government, the High Commissioner felt a deep interest in the welfare of its people. The process of disintegration, commenced by abandoning the Transvaal and then the Orange River sovereignty, found, as we have seen, no sympathiser in Sir George Grey.

In his opinion, as appeared afterwards in the case of Samoa, the United States occupied the position of the most prominent portion of the British Empire, which in truth meant the English-speaking peoples. No accident of Government or temporary method of rule could ever, as he believed, effect a severance in the ultimate unity and destiny of that great race to which he was proud to belong, and to whose work as the rulers of the world he devoted the constant energies of his busy life.

Nor was it the least merit of his people, nor their least claim to universal supremacy, that they were able to absorb and assimilate members of all other

racés, and to raise them in a higher and nobler sense than ever did ancient Rome, to the privileges and duties of a nationality unique and unexampled.

He was especially qualified to hold these views, both by personal character and by hereditary descent.

The respect with which the Boers, whether of the Transvaal or the Orange Free State, or in the Queen's dominions, regarded him, was warmed into affection by his conduct towards them on all occasions.

But Sir George Grey enjoyed a peculiar and personal claim to their regard which no other Governor possessed. On his mother's side he claimed descent from a Huguenot noble, who had, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by the side of Lord Ligonier, afterwards William's general of horse, cut his way, followed by armed retainers, to the sea coast, and thence escaped to England. When a youth Grey had gone to Normandy and visited all the scenes amongst which his mother's ancestors had lived. And now he could describe to these South African descendants of Dutch and French refugees the places where many of their fathers, as well as his, had lived and died. Blood is proverbially thicker than water, and when the Boers found that within Sir George Grey's veins there coursed a strain of Huguenot blood, their hearts warmed towards him in an unwonted fashion.

In his first visit to the Orange Free State the difficulties in the matter of education, with which this new community was forced to contend, presented themselves distinctly to his mind. Among the fathers and heads of families there were men of culture and refinement, but among the stalwart youths and the thousands of boys growing rapidly to manhood there was a lack of that higher education which in these days is necessary to enable men to take a useful posi-

tion in public affairs, or to keep upon an equal rank with the men of other countries.

This impediment to progress was enlarged and intensified in the case of the Orange Free State by its sudden abandonment. It was, in a single day, thrown upon its own resources. Rude wealth and plenty, wide pastures, flocks and herds, great possibilities for future development were indeed possessed by the infant republic. But it had no form of government, no institutions. These it had to create for itself.

The first necessities of communal existence and safety demanded all that the republic and its leaders could give of time and thought. At a glance it became evident to Sir George Grey, that higher education, upon which so much of the future happiness and prosperity of the country must depend, was, while absolutely necessary, yet likely to be overlooked. Indeed, situated 800 miles from Cape Town, and speaking a foreign tongue, the Free Staters seemed left to ignorance and barbarism in the midst of savage nations.

Gratified, even delighted at the genial hospitality and kindness shown to him by the people of the Free State, and anxious to find some method of expressing his gratitude, the means by which that feeling might be permanently expressed quickly suggested themselves. To found and establish a college for the higher branches of learning, which college, situated in the capital of the republic, should be immediately accessible to all its youth, would fitly embody that spirit of love and sympathy which Sir George Grey felt within him for the people. He resolved, therefore, to lay the foundations of a college at Bloemfontein.

As soon as his determination became known, he

received assurances of assistance and support from all quarters. The President, Mr. Boshoff, expressed his pleasure and willingness to co-operate. Communications were entered into with the leading people of the State, and also with the Transvaal Republic, with the view of extending also in the Transvaal the benefits of higher education.

Sir George drew the plans on which the new educational institution should be conducted. As the majority of the youth of the country spoke the Dutch language only, he advised that while English should not be neglected, the main current of teaching should be in Dutch. He knew that this would obtain for the young community substantial assistance from the Universities and people of Holland.

Endowments for the Bloemfontein College were readily procured. The Government also assisted. Correspondence was opened with the Universities of Holland. Professors were appointed who took the learning of the old world to South Africa. Temporary buildings were as soon as possible procured. And thus the cause of the higher knowledge was absolutely victorious, and its teaching established for ever in the Free State.

That college has never languished. Year by year its endowments have increased by the gifts of the living and bequests. The Government and the Volksraad have diligently nursed it. The number of students has grown with its accommodation. Some years after its opening a grateful people gave to it the name of its beloved founder, and the "Grey College" will, so far as human wisdom can foresee, last as long in Bloemfontein as human civilisation exists.

The progress of this institution has always been to Sir George Grey a matter of delight. In December, 1890, the railway, in continuation of that which he

had commenced in 1855, at length reached Bloemfontein. On its opening to the capital of the Free State there were public rejoicings and festivities. The English South African Governors were invited, and the principal personages of all the civilised portions of South Africa were gathered at Bloemfontein to participate in the national holiday.

Among those who joined in this glad festival were many of the leading men in the Free State, the Transvaal Republic, Natal, and the Cape Colony, who had received their education at the Grey College. Some were men of mature age, fathers of families. As they gathered together on this auspicious occasion, beneath the shadow of the College halls, they did not forget the man who, now laid aside by age and sickness from public duties, had thirty-five years before planned the existence and constitution of their University.

On December 23rd, 1890, there appeared in the *New Zealand Herald* in Auckland the following paragraph:—

SIR GEORGE GREY AND SOUTH AFRICA.

The other day, in mentioning the visit of Sir Henry Loch to British Kaffraria, and the speeches made at the gatherings on the occasion, we noted the fact that the memory of Sir George Grey in South Africa remains as fresh as ever. A fresh illustration of that fact we give to-day. A cablegram has reached Sir George Grey by the hands of Dr. Lemon, Superintendent of Telegraphs, which he has received from Sir John Pender, Chairman of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, to whom it had been sent by the Minister for Crown Lands, Cape Colony. In sending the message to Sir John Pender, the Minister for Crown Lands says:—"We are in the midst of very enthusiastic festivities in connection with the opening of the Free State railway. At a most successful gathering I agreed to send to you the following message, with a request that you would kindly see to its reaching Sir George Grey." The following is the message

referred to, sent through the courtesy of Sir John Pender as a cablegram memo., as well as Sir George's reply :—

“ BLOEMFONTEIN, December 18th.

“ At a meeting of the Grey College past students, who assembled to celebrate the opening of the railway of Bloemfontein, they, there being present with them the President of the Free State, the Governors of Cape Colony and Natal, the representatives of the South African railway, the Administrators of Bechuanaland, the Administrators of the Basutos, and three members of the Cape Ministry, and a number of other visitors from the surrounding states, send their greetings to the founder of their Alma Mater.”

To this Sir George sent the following reply :—

“ Dr. Lemon, Wellington. Sir John Pender. Kindly forward the following to the Minister of Crown Lands, Cape Colony :—
‘ Greetings gratefully acknowledged. In thought I am often with you. All blessings attend South African States. May the College ever train noble citizens.’

“ G. GREY.”

The telegram reached Sir George on Sunday morning. The church bells had ceased to ring, and the worshippers were gathered through the length and breadth of New Zealand for their Sabbath devotions. Lonely and quiet, weak from illness, Sir George sat, thinking of the varied scenes of his strange life. Only the day before he had been speaking of the establishment of the Grey College at Bloemfontein, and expressing his gratitude to God for its success. His mind was running upon South African matters. Missionaries, whose memories were recalled to him by the presence in Auckland of Captain Hore, fresh from Lake Tanganyika; the Grey Hospital at King Williamstown, which had also been the subject of recent conversation, the Cape, Natal, and the surrounding districts, were crowding one upon the other through his memory.

In the midst of this train of thought the telegraph

messenger arrived, and Sir George read with feelings too deep for utterance, the pleasant message which had traversed the world to find him. A great traveller and philosopher, Baron von Hübner, in the description of his travels through the British Empire says :—

“ Passing before the Public Library (in Cape Town) I stop sometimes before a stone statue, not on account of its artistic value, but because it represents a remarkable man. It is one of the rare examples of a monument erected in honour of a man during his lifetime.”*

This refers to the statue of Sir George Grey.

The receipt of the telegram which showed that his memory was fresh and grateful to the people of the Free State, and that the remembrance of that which he had done was cherished there, was to Sir George Grey more gratifying than the erection of any monument of brass or marble. For it revealed the fact that he himself was remembered with affection, and had a place not merely given by the pencil of the artist or the chisel of the sculptor, but imperishably engraven by the loftiest human sentiments upon the hearts of men. And deeper still was his gratitude to the Almighty that he had been spared to see in his lifetime, such wonderful results following the thoughts and deeds of bygone years.

The influence exerted by the Grey College is evidently not restricted to Bloemfontein, nor to the Orange Free State.

“ Directly Mr. Rhodes got back to South Africa after his recent trip to England, he hastened to Kimberley, where in a speech at the Africander Bond dinner, amongst other things he said: ‘ I have obtained enormous subscriptions in order to found a

* “ Through the British Empire,” vol. i., p. 40—Baron von Hübner.

teaching university in Cape Colony. I will own to you why I feel so strongly in favour of that project. I saw at Bloemfontein the immense feeling of friendship that all members had for the Grey Institute, where they had been educated, and from which they had gone out to the world. I said to myself, if we could get a teaching university founded in Cape Colony, taking the people from all parts at the ages of eighteen to twenty-one, they would go back tied to one another by the strongest feeling that can be created, because the period in one's life when you indulge in friendships which are seldom broken is from eighteen to twenty-one.' " *

* *Greater Britain*, May 15th, 1891.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LETTERS FROM AFRICAN CHIEFS.

“ Nature is fine in love, and when ’tis fine
It sends some precious instance of itself
After the thing it loves.”

Hamlet.

DURING the whole of his residence at Cape Town, Sir George Grey often received letters from the heads of the native tribes under his rule. The affectionate dependence on their good Governor which these “children of a larger growth” expressed is at once touching and quaint. They looked upon him as both willing and able to satisfy all their desires. Appeals were made to Sir George when famine threatened them, when the injustice or depredation of neighbouring tribes called for punishment, when a new gun or saddle was eagerly desired, when their children needed education, or pestilence was destroying their people. Nothing was too great, nothing too small to be brought under the notice of the “King of the Cape,” as Sir George was styled in some of these appeals.

And they were justified in this belief by the never-failing consideration to their requests, and the sincere interest in all that concerned his native subjects shown by the Governor. Ever busy, he had yet time to attend to the most trivial wishes of single individuals. He not only established hospitals for their

sick, but would undertake toilsome journeys into most remote parts of the country to visit one dying native; he founded great schools where their children might learn useful trades or fit themselves to teach and follow scientific pursuits, and at the same time he granted the childish wishes of many little students, writing to them, sending gifts, arranging for some of them to go to school in England, and encouraging all of them to write to him about anything which interested or concerned them.

Amongst the treasures of Sir George Grey's correspondence, the simple, heart-felt utterances of these little native children hold an honoured place. They are dearer to him than the eulogistic letters of the wise and the great of the earth.

George Macomo and Duke Ishatshur, amongst sons of the other principal chiefs, were sent to school in England, and wrote long letters from Nuncaton to their benefactor. They sent messages to their relations through the Governor, and asked him of their welfare. Everything they saw in England was compared (generally unfavourably) with what Sir George had at Government House. The boys went to a cattle show. They saw some fine horses—"but although they have not reached up to yours," writes George; he continued, "we are thankful to God for this mercy to hear our prayer, when we prayed for you, to send you back again because you did so please us. . . . I am sure it does make me feel to wish to be there."

A very touching little letter, from Emma Sandilli, deserves to be quoted at length. The writer was the only daughter of Sandilli, paramount chief of the Kafir tribes. She afterwards married the paramount chief of the Tambookie tribes. Sir George Grey had her placed at the Kafir School, which he founded and

maintained at Zonnebloem, near Cape Town. No home-sick English school girl ever wrote to her parents with more perfect confidence that her request would meet with loving and indulgent consideration than Emma Sandilli to the Governor of Cape Colony.

Zonnebloem, November 2nd, 1860.

My Lord Governor,—I meant to ask you if you please, Sir, to let me go back to see my parents for a short time, and I will come back again. I will not stop any longer. It is because I do desire to see my own land, I beg you to let me go to see my parents, and if you do let me go I shall never forget your kindness. I should be so pleased to see my mother's face again. I beg you do let me go, my Lord Governor. Of your kindness I am quite sure that you will. I cannot do as I like now because you are in my father's place. If you do listen to my ask, I am sure I do not know what I shall do, because I cannot do anything for you, and you can do so much for me.

EMMA SANDILLI.

The sons of the chief Moroka were much attached to Sir George Grey. The Governor desired to give the elder of these lads an English education. His proposal to do so nearly sent Samuel Moroka wild with delight. How eagerly he grasped at the offer, and how anxious he was that his wishes might not be misinterpreted, may be gathered from the following expressive if rather incoherent letter:—

Cape Town.

To Sir George Grey,—I send this letter to you, Sir. I like to go to England, Sir. I like very much, Sir, and I want anything I must ask to you, Sir, and I was wrote to my Father. I tell him I shall ask to you, Sir, and he said it is good. He said if I want anything I must ask to you, Sir. I like very much, Sir, if I can go England, I shall be glad, Sir. Please Sir, I like to go, and I thought my Father he shall be glad, Sir, if he hear I go England to learning. He shall very glad Because you Promise my Father you said to him You shall Bring me England. Please Sir, I like very much, Sir, to go to England, Sir.—I am.

SAMUEL MOROKA.

George Moroka, a brother of the last writer, was at the Kafir College at Zonnebloem, when he received a letter from his father containing bad news. A rumour had reached Moroka's settlement that their good Governor was going to leave them. George wrote immediately to Sir George Grey. His letter, dated July 11th, 1861, contains the following passage :—

He (Moroka) say he heard some people say you go away from the Cape. He say he don't know if it is true or not. . . . I tell my father, I say to him, if Sir George Grey go Home I will go with him, but he say very well ; but I tell him if you go I shall go with you.—I am, your affectionate son,

GEORGE MOROKA.

A letter written nearly twenty years after Sir George Grey left South Africa for the second time, by one of the former students at the Kafir College at Zonnebloem, says :—

Vast changes took place since you left us, and we are unto this day like unto the children of Israel after the death of their kind Pharaoh. My heart aches when I remember the time you kept us, when you used to give us goodly dinners, and used to return to Zonnebloem each time with 5s. each boy, and all wishing for the morrow to buy sweets and marbles. In the year 1877 my native race broke into war with the colony. The consequence is the death of Sandilli, killed in a bush, and the capture of all his sons, Edmund and all who are in Robbin (or Seal)* Island unto this day.

I do mourn for His Excellency, for I am sure I would not have been so poor if he were still with us.

Sir George Grey's indulgent kindness was not confined to the children alone, as is shown by many letters, like the following, which a missionary in the Nyati country wrote at the request and dictation of one of the greatest of all African chiefs :—

* Place where political prisoners were occasionally confined.

Moselekatse, the King of the Matabele,

To the King of the Cape,—Oh ! King of the Cape, I send these words to you to inform you that the waggon with all the fine things it contained, which you gave me, was taken away by the Boers, and to beg of you to help me by giving me another waggon containing guns, powder, lead, beads, boiling-pots, and clothing.

That I long to see the way clear from here to the Cape, so that I may trade with the English, and that thus we may become one people.

With my kindest regards to you, and longing to hear your reply, and also to welcome messengers from you.

MOSELEKATSE.

The chief being determined that the “King of the Cape” should receive his actual handwriting, persisted, in spite of the arguments and opposition of the missionary, in adding a purposeless and complicated scrawl to this letter, which Mr. Thomas sent with many apologies to His Excellency.

The chief was obdurate, and to all the missionary’s efforts to dissuade him simply remarked, “You are against me, for you will not send my words to the King. I know that the King will hear me; and, therefore, why do you refuse to send to him?”

The feelings of the coloured people of Lesseystown when Sir George Grey visited them in 1860, after his return from England, found expression in the following original address :—

To the Chief, that is, Sir George Grey,
Governor of the Country.

Chief,—We greet you, because you have returned and come to our place. We thank thee because thou hast come, thou, who art so great, to us, the little lot of Lesseystown.

The thing we thank for is this : In time gone by in our sitting we had not the thought that a thing so great as thou could come to where we sit.

Another thing we thank thee for : it is the word you have spoken. We see the *House* to teach *Children* is standing by your word.

Another thing it is to thank : that we see our children, they begin to learn the trades ; it is by your kindness. May the *Lord*

of Heaven put His blessing upon these works, that it may be a light to them, the many of our nation, they, who yet sit in darkness, that they may see the standing of righteousness, which is fastened among us.

Another thing also which we thank thee for : it is that we have sent a little lot of our children to go and learn at Salem.

Again we thank for your desire to help us, with a stone to grind. But we have got another thought of it : we have cut our lands, we have ploughed wheat to sell it to finish that thing.

Now then, Chief, we need your help ; we ask of you the trade of building waggons, that our children may learn it also.

We now greet the Chief. We pray for thy hearing to these words we have spoken. Go then, Chief of us, by safety, to those troubles you are going to. It is us, who would it may come right for you, by the help of God.

A letter from Moshesh, which is not dated but must have been written about the same time, conveys the pleasure of that chief at Sir George Grey's return. The following is a close translation :—

To the Governor,

My Lord,—I rejoice in that I am again given an opportunity to meet the Representative of the Queen in this part of Africa. I had longed that you could have come to separate us before this war had yet been fought, but those who made war upon me would not. To-day Boshof has sued (for peace), and we have placed our arms on the ground ; and I am glad, for war is not a thing which I have ever liked. But since you desire that peace should be built up between the Boers and me, I ought to tell you the secret of my heart.

The little matters of my nation are known to you. You know that when the whites had not yet crossed the Orange River, I was lord of the land, commencing from the junction of the Orange and Caledon, to the districts of Smithfield and of Bloemfontein and Thabanchie, and reaching to Winburg and to opposite Harri-smith. You know that those who crossed the river first were people who asked me room to sit for a short time to pasture their flocks, and it happened that when they began to trouble me, Governor Napier scolded them. Afterwards other Governors even asked me for room to place whites on some farms, and I consented (to place them), but not after the manner of the whites, it was according to the laws of the Lesuti. Now with us the land is the chief's, and a *man* is not permitted to sell it. That which

I now say is that the Representatives of the Queen have borrowed farms from me and placed people on them, while some have only placed themselves (squatted). I had trusted that these people whom I received would have trusted me, whereas it is not so, but ever since I lent them a portion of my land there has been no peace, and there have been always disputes and quarrels. Now I say those who borrowed from me were the Representatives of the Queen, and whereas these loans have already given birth to wars, and will continue to give birth to them, I pray them to return me that which I lent them. There can be no real peace until this stumblingblock is removed. Yes, I lent to the Government of the Queen, and to no other, and the duty of the masters when they went away was to return to me that which they had borrowed from me. In questions of land I do not know the Boers, for it is not they who borrowed from me. The things I now tell you are things of truth, and I trust that the Government of the Queen will adjudicate righteously.

Moshesh next requested that firearms and powder might be given to his people. He said they were a quiet tribe, not given to war.

There is game in the land of the Lesuto, and we are without that with which to kill it.

I have other things, which I shall tell you with my mouth. Though, however, I have been telling you my little affairs, it is not that I would dictate how you ought to act, for you are greater than we. In short, I have placed my hope in you, and have confidence that you will adjudicate righteously.

Another letter from Moshesh, dated August 20th, 1861, commences thus :—

Sir,—I have learnt with sorrow that you are on the point of leaving Cape Colony to go to New Zealand. I wish you all sorts of prosperity in the new responsibility which is going to be confided to you, and I pray you to remember me and my people. I ask you also to speak of me, and of what concerns me, to your successor, so that he may have the same kindness for us which you have had for us.

In the month of July last I wrote to you to tell you that I was not bound to anybody to make war upon you, and that was the truth. To-day I learn that there are troubles among the Zulus at the place of Panda's son, and I think that Your Excellency is

convinced that I have no part in that business. If, following the example of the kings of Medes and Persians, I could at my death leave laws to my people, I should tell them never to make war against the English people.

Strange rumours have reached me. They say, and I have reason to believe that it is true, that Pretorius went to Panda to ask him for help to make war against my people. I have also heard that Panda would have refused with indignation and anger, but his son would have accepted on condition that the booty taken in the war should be for him, and the country for the Government of the Free State. Great chief, you who receive news from all parts of this country, do you know anything of this plan of Pretorius?

This was accompanied by another letter from the son of Moshesh, also written by the French missionary. It alluded to the warlike attitude of the Boers, and the rumour of their uniting with the Zulus to make war upon Moshesh and his people. It also spoke of another matter:—

I have been directed by my father, Moshesh, to thank you for the care bestowed on my brother, whom you have sent to England for his education. He has written to tell us of his arrival in Europe.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

REVIEW OF SIR GEORGE GREY'S ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

“ Be useful where thou livest, that they may
Both want and wish thy pleasing presence still ;
Kindness, good parts, great plans, are the way
To compass this ; find out men's want and will,
And meet them there. All worldly joys go less
To the one joy of doing kindnesses.”

Herbert.

WITHIN twelve months of Prince Alfred's visit to South Africa, Sir George Grey received an intimation from the Imperial Government that his presence was urgently needed once more in New Zealand. For the third time he was called away from the government of one colony which he had brought triumphantly out of great danger, to undertake fresh responsibilities in another. For more than twenty years he had occupied the position of Governor without intermission, and yet, during that time, his administration of the affairs of any colony had never once been terminated by the expiry of his term of office.

On the present occasion his prompt obedience to the call of duty was in direct opposition to his own interests. The Governor-Generalship of Canada had been promised him at the expiration of his government in South Africa. This would in all probability have led to the administration of India. Both these positions offered great possibilities of public usefulness, far more attractive to men like Sir George

Grey than the social distinction they confer are to the majority. Yet, in going to New Zealand in 1861, he unhesitatingly renounced these hopes.

For eight years he had governed Cape Colony. With his coming representative institutions had been inaugurated. The history of the colony in its present form dates from 1854. On his arrival he had found diversity of interests, discontent, confusion everywhere—in government, in commerce, in Imperial directions, and local management. The Governor had steadily reduced this anarchy to order. He had fought ignorance, injustice, apathy, want of sympathy and indifference. He had established schools, libraries, hospitals, and other institutions of a similar nature in many parts of the country. Cape Town, Zonnebloem, Lovedale, King Williamstown, Port Elizabeth, Lesseytown, Smithfield, and Bloemfontein are amongst the towns in which such monuments recall the memory of a “good, great man.”

Forms of government had been firmly established, great public works, like that of the breakwater in Table Bay, begun. Roads had been made, and communication with the interior of the country rendered easier. Just before his recall, Sir George Grey had commenced a work which he had long planned. On the 31st March, 1859, he turned the first sod of the Cape Town and Wellington railway. This was the first line constructed in South Africa. Twenty-five years later the colony had 1,599 miles of rail open for traffic, and had spent nearly $13\frac{1}{2}$ millions of money on their completion. In 1855 the value of exports from Cape Colony amounted to £970,839. When Sir George Grey left, this sum was nearly doubled.

One of the most important sources of South African wealth is ostrich-farming. Previous to Sir George Grey's governorship no attempt had been made to

domesticate these birds, and it was feared that they would be exterminated for the sake of their feathers. The Governor, however, believed it possible to tame them. His experiment succeeded so well that others followed his example. The average sales of ostrich feathers from Port Elizabeth alone now amount to over £50,000 a month.

But none of these undertakings seemed to Sir George Grey more important than the reforms he instituted among the natives. Their peace and well-being were his constant care. In dealing with them he obtained the counsel and assistance of experienced and competent advisers.

Several letters from Florence Nightingale on the subject of his native schools and hospital show the liveliest interest in his work, and a great desire to help with suggestions as to management and in any other way possible. The tone of the letters throughout is expressed by the concluding sentence of one of them dated 16th April, 1860:—"God bless you for all you are doing for these fine races."

Sir George frequently applied to her for information as to the best means of treating these aborigines so as to lessen the perils from new and strange diseases so generally fatal to native races. Accordingly Miss Nightingale prepared a Form of Return for the native schools, which the Duke of Newcastle had printed. "If these could be filled up," wrote Miss Nightingale, "they would give us the information we want, in order to enable us to judge of the influences which deteriorate the children's health."

In Sir George Grey's farewell address to the Parliament at the Cape of Good Hope in August, 1861, he thus spoke of his aims, and of his feelings in leaving South Africa:—

Every effort has, therefore, been made to build up a system under which the various races in South Africa might with mutual advantage be brought into constant and open intercourse with each other, as the civilised portions of the population spread further and further from the parent colony in which themselves and their ancestors had been originally settled.

The necessary operation of such a system was that here, on the spot, would, at least in part, be trained the statesmen, the lawyers, the divines, and the leaders who would direct, lead, and control the tide of emigration which must year by year with ever-accumulating force pour forth from this colony and its offshoots.

Now that my own part on the scene of action has been played out, I look back with regret on some things done, at much that has been left undone, but with pleasure at some things which have been planted, some growing into life. But amidst these mingled feelings of sorrow and of hope, which must long live in my mind, there will ever survive a grateful remembrance of the sympathies and the assistance which have on so many occasions been given by this Parliament and the inhabitants of South Africa to the efforts I have made to conduct successfully the Queen's service, and to give effect to Her Majesty's ceaseless desire to promote the happiness and welfare of her subjects and of all the races to whom the influence of her very extended sway reaches.

The plan Sir G. Grey proposed was "to gain an influence over all the tribes inhabiting the borders of the colony, through British Kaffraria eastward to Natal, by employing them on public works, opening up the country, by establishing institutions for the education of their children and the relief of their sick, by introducing amongst them laws and regulations suited to their condition, and by these and other means gradually winning them to Christianity and civilisation, thus changing by degrees your apparently irreconcilable foes into friends, having common interests with yourselves."

With such an earnest desire to benefit and civilise the coloured population of South Africa, it was only natural that Sir George should be in frequent corre-

spondence with the various missionaries there. He sympathised with and helped all missionary effort, untrammelled by any narrow sectarian prejudices. While forwarding their work, he was much assisted in his own plans by the information these heralds of Christianity were able to give him. By their labours he was able to make a splendid collection of vocabularies and other books in the different South African languages, as well as to learn thoroughly the condition, the wants, the character, and the best method of dealing with the various races. A few quotations from the letters he received from missionaries in South Africa will illustrate this, and show the mutual benefits conferred and received by the Governor and themselves.

A letter from Bishop Colenso, then at an industrial school in Maritzburg, Natal, dated 1859, relates the progress made by native pupils. It also tells of the difficulties the Bishop was experiencing in getting his Zulu grammar with appendix and abridgment printed. Sir George is thanked for his aid both in this work and towards the enlargement of the college buildings.

In June, 1859, the Bishop wrote to ask Sir G. Grey's advice on the subject of his resigning the Bishopric of Natal, and offering his services as Missionary Bishop of Zululand. There had not previously been such an officer, but it had been decided to send one, and no suitable person could be thought of.

Several very interesting letters from Mr. Wm. Govan to Sir George, written from Lovedale early in 1857, give detailed accounts of the progress of the native school at that place. At that time about twenty Kafir youths were received and taught trades as waggon makers, tailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, and masons. Frequent allusion is made to the deep

interest taken by the Governor in the early Kafir literature, and his untiring efforts to make a complete collection of the earliest printed works.

Mr. Govan sent him a number of old and interesting copies. The following extract from one of his letters gives some idea of the hopes which filled the hearts of missionaries and others who wished for the welfare of the native people, and their rejoicing at the course of conduct adopted by Sir George Grey, so different to the cold judicial policy of most of the Governors :

“Allow me to say that it is to me and my brethren a cause of much satisfaction that Your Excellency has been led to take so deep an interest in Kafir literature and Kafir history. We anticipate under the Divine blessing most important results from Your Excellency’s researches and measures.”

Letters from the Bishop of Grahamstown go quite as fully into all details connected with mission work in the interior. The readiness of the Governor to provide funds for this object is shown by the frequency and expectancy with which demands for still further assistance are made.

A number of letters in 1858 from Robert Moffat (Matabele Mission) relate to specimens of the Bechuana language which he was indefatigable in procuring for Sir G. Grey, who on the other hand interested himself in sending lesson-books in Zulu to the missionary.

Exploration and discovery owed much to the Governor. It was he who started Speke on the expedition which ended in such an ovation on his discovery of the sources of the Nile. One of Speke’s letters to Sir George Grey, after the return of the latter to New Zealand, tells its own story. It was written from that ill-fated town in Upper Egypt,

where Gordon, deserted and friendless, met a hero's death:—

Khartoum, March 30th, 1863.

My dear Sir George,—As I have now joined the two hemispheres, traced the Nile down from the Victoria Nyanza, and know its length is equal to $\frac{1}{12}$ the circumference of the globe, I cannot refrain to express to you what I have ever felt at heart, the warm gratitude that pervades me for the many kindnesses you evinced in my behalf on the Fort and at the Cape. I have now accomplished my work, and I believe done it well, for I have mapped my route on foot the whole way, and am carrying home upwards of one thousand observations.

Sir George Grey's prudence and foresight in providing Captain Speke with a native guard were highly applauded by Livingstone, whose letters are perhaps the most interesting of any in this portion of Sir George's correspondence.

When Dr. Livingstone and his wife went to the Cape in 1858, they took letters of introduction to the Governor from Mr. Labouchere (Lord Taunton). From that time a deep and strong friendship subsisted between them.

Livingstone's letters date from May, 1858, to February, 1863. They are all in his own handwriting, cover sixty pages of foolscap, and are full of interest and information.

Writing in June, 1859, of the statement made by an English minister in 1857 that two black men with Portuguese names had been the first to traverse the African continent, Dr. Livingstone said that the ignorance of the Portuguese of the existence of Lake Shirwa, and other evidence, conclusively proved that they had only gone to Tette, not to Mozambique, about 400 miles further. The Portuguese, however, afterwards attempted to claim this honour and reap its advantages.

Another letter announces the discovery of the source of the River Shire in "the hitherto undis-

covered Nyassa, one of those lakes with which South Africa is studded." Dr. Livingstone was much amused at the information conveyed by English papers about the region of his explorations. A great deal of it was new to him, and most interesting. "I wish our good friends would only tell us all about it beforehand. It would save us a good deal of trouble, and deliver us from the perplexity of guessing and grumbling. . . . Now, anything positive, if given beforehand, will be thankfully received, though it comes from the archives of Prester John." There is something delightfully calm and business-like in the following paragraph from the account of a visit to an island in Lake Nyassa: "Elephants and hippopotami very tame. Alligators seldom kill men, so we could bathe in the delicious cool waters when we liked."

The steamer they had on the Zambesi did not particularly arouse the explorer's enthusiasm, to judge by his description. The engines were so weak "as to be unable to help us in the difficulty. She was only one-sixteenth of an inch thick in the beginning, and is now like an old copper kettle, full of holes in one part." Alluding to future navigation he prudently adds: "if she will only stick together so long." In another place he says: "We have left Macgregor Laird's precious punt in a sinking state—funnel, furnace, deck, and bottom all done simultaneously, after only twelve months' wear."

These letters deal with the navigation of South African rivers; the discovery and exploration of wild country; the derivation and grammatical structure of the various dialects; the diagnosis and remedial measures for the treatment of the fatal African fever, which the explorer had had himself in severe forms twenty-seven times, and for which his cure was

almost infallible; the capabilities of different districts; and the use of newly-discovered plants, and directions for their cultivation. Accompanying these letters were maps, vocabularies, reports, seeds, plants, and innumerable interesting specimens in many different branches of science and research.

In Dr. Livingstone's letters there are also continual references to the pernicious influence of the slave trade, and plans for establishing English stations which would encourage commerce. About twenty thousand slaves annually pass through Quiloa on their way to the Coast from the Lakes. Portuguese trading had evil effects, and Dr. Livingstone writes:—"We must have English colonisation. I have no doubt as to its success had we a man like you to set it agoing."

When Sir George was recalled from the Cape, Livingstone begged his assistance in getting free navigation on the Zambesi. He said it was admitted by the Governor of Tette that he and his party were the first to reach that district by the Zambesi from the sea. The devoted explorer wrote that he would not mind owning the supremacy of the Portuguese over any part known or traded to by them; but his explorations and those of Speke and Burton had opened up widely-extended territories. Could these lands be utilized for English settlement and commerce it was but reasonable to suppose that a great trade in cotton would spring up, and a stop be put to the slave trade. If the Government did not help in these plans, Livingstone wrote, he would build a boat at his own expense to protect settlers and develop lawful trade. The Portuguese he knew would object to this; and had the power of placing great obstacles in the way, but he was firm in his opinion. "We ought to have free passage to our discoveries, and our

success, without diminishing their territory an inch, would promote the prosperity of their establishments."

The censure of the Home Government when they recalled Sir George found no echo in Livingstone's mind. He seems scarcely to have been aware of it when he wrote, "I need scarcely say that I am as sorry as anyone on account of your departure from the Cape. But I hope it may be only to afford you wider scope for your energies." When the news of the Governor's return reached him he wrote, "Right good tidings they are, and I am extremely glad and thankful in consequence."

The missionaries had great cause for thankfulness at this event, as they realised still more fully after Sir George Grey left the Cape finally. Livingstone's letters illustrate this. One of February, 1863, begins: "We have been very much baffled in our work since you left, and our prospects now are far from bright." The concluding paragraph runs thus: "If you still wish to do us a good turn write a line, for a word from you is ever valuable and exhilarating."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE GREY LIBRARY.

“ For his bounty
There was no winter in’t ; an autumn ’twas
That grew the more by reaping.”

Antony and Cleopatra.

ALTHOUGH Sir George Grey did not present his magnificent library to the Cape during his residence there, yet an account of it will occur more appropriately here than in any other division of this work. A few months after the Governor had gone to his new duties, one of the members of the Ministry at the Cape of Good Hope received an interesting letter from him. Sir George Grey began by stating that throughout his life he had delighted in collecting manuscripts and early-printed books, with the idea of publishing fresh editions of many of them in the leisure of advancing age. This hope, he now found, was an illusion. Instead of lessening, the claims on his time grew more numerous and pressing each year; and his self-imposed task had now grown to such dimensions that it would require a lifetime to accomplish, however imperfectly. Anxious lest the collection, which had been made with so much care, should be dispersed in private hands, he had formed the design of bestowing it on the people of South Africa, not after his own death, but making the gift immediately to the colony, for which he felt much affection. A few cases of books accompanied this

letter. The main part of the library was, however, in England. It was not till April, 1864, that the whole collection was housed in the building which Prince Alfred had opened four years earlier.

At the first annual meeting of subscribers to the Cape Town Public Library after Sir George Grey had made his noble present, the chairman, Mr. J. Fairbairn, M.L.A., in the course of an eloquent address, said :

This institution has been favoured with a gift of great value by our late excellent Governor, Sir George Grey. It consists partly of manuscript copies taken before the art of printing was known in Europe, and early printed editions of works that have shone like stars in the firmament of literature for many generations, and which, in their youthful dress with decorations significant of manners and fancies long vanished from life, are much esteemed by the philosophic historian as well as by the curious antiquary. . . .

The venerable libraries in the most famous abodes of learning would have acknowledged such a gift with gratitude as a priceless addition to their stores. . . .

But highly as we prize this rich gift as a possession and a trust for future ages, we experience a more profound and pleasing sentiment of regard towards the giver, who has selected us from all the world to be recipients and guardians of this treasure. . . .

In many of its aspects the Government of Sir George Grey in South Africa will be regarded as a remarkable era in our history. . . .

This considerable collection of books with free access to all who may wish to consult or peruse them, has ever had the praise of strangers. In their new abode, in union and communion with a Museum already rich and arranged with science and taste ; in a sweet and quiet garden, terminated in prospect by a college expanding into a university, this institution has now every quality to fix the affections of a man like Sir George Grey—one endowed with large discourse, looking before and after, discovering the fruit in the bud, and disposed by habit to view with complacency the early developments of society, to which a single mind may sometimes give a permanent direction towards truth and virtue.

After speaking of the foundation of the Library, exactly one hundred years previous to the date of Sir

George Grey's trust, by a bequest of books, manuscripts, paintings, and a sum of £200 by Joachim Nicholas Dessin, the chairman pointed out that it was founded by private liberality, that private individuals had since contributed largely to its stores and convenience, that Sir George Grey had now enriched it with a gift worth more than all the previous collection, and that the Government and the people as a whole had hitherto done very little towards its support.

When Sir George Grey first landed in South Africa, the Public Library at Cape Town was of considerable size and importance, but was very inadequately lodged in a side room of the Exchange Buildings. It was owing to the Governor's persistent and personal influence that the Cape Parliament voted the large sum of money spent in building the present handsome edifice. Afterwards the Cape people erected a statue of Sir G. Grey immediately in front of the Library.

The possession of Sir George's literary treasures (one of the finest private collections in the world) made the South African Library take a very high position. Mr. F. S. Lewis, M.A., Chief Librarian of the South African Public Library, who had long been connected with the "Bodleian," at Oxford, referring to the position which the South African Library occupies with regard to others, said it was the third in point of size of colonial libraries, but it was first in point of importance. If the Grey Collection were burnt or destroyed, the fact would be known all over the world and regretted by every man who loved learning. Other libraries might be destroyed and the loss would only be local, but if this collection, or indeed some particular books in it, were lost, there would be a cry throughout the whole world.

Glancing at the contents of the bookshelves, the visitor is first struck by the prominence given to philological works. Brought much into contact with the natives in all his governments, and holding very decidedly the opinion that to successfully govern uncivilised races an intimate knowledge of their characters, traditions, and manner of thought was necessary, Sir George diligently studied the languages of the various coloured populations under his rule.

The estimation in which leading authorities on philology held the service rendered to science by Sir George Grey's researches and collections is gathered from many letters. Space will only permit of quotations from two or three.

Professor Max Müller wrote in 1860, thanking Sir George Grey for a present of books, and particularly mentioning the catalogue of the Library at the Cape, about which he said: "I have but little doubt that it might form the subject of an article in the *Quarterly*, which would interest many readers in England and abroad. If the editor of the *Quarterly* would offer the article to me I should do my best to make it interesting, though one could hardly avoid entering into some questions connected with the science of language, which would necessarily require a somewhat minute treatment. However, an account of your own services and of the services rendered by missionaries to the cause of philology and ethnology, might give to the article a certain variety and relief, and I should hope to be able to turn it into an appeal to the public for granting a more active and permanent support to a science which I believe will rise in time to be the most important of all sciences, the science of language and of man."

Another interesting letter is from Baron de Bunsen. It is dated the 2nd of October, 1860, and runs thus:

"You have heaped upon all scholars of African ethnology, and upon all friends of comparative philology such rich treasures of new and of true facts that we are really, all of us, and particularly those of the school to which I glory to belong, the historical, forced by you to make the *first* step in knowledge, which is that of knowing the full extent of our ignorance as to what we wish to know and to understand. As to myself, I hope to have made, and most willingly, at the head of those precious linguistic documents, the *second* step, viz., that of convincing myself of the abundance of matter which is in store for us, thanks to your enlightened and indefatigable researches and collections. They have surpassed my fondest expectations."

The letter goes on to say that what Sir George Grey had already done in the cause of science had raised everywhere the expectation that he would succeed in his project of establishing a permanent African University, or, at least, a South African Ethnological Museum, thus leading to more complete and certain knowledge concerning the origin and descent of the various native tribes by the collection of facts concerning their languages, dialects, and idioms.

Remarkably similar to Bunsen's expression is the following passage from one of Ch. Lassen's letters, written from Bonn in August, 1859:—"All students of general philology will for ever remain deeply grateful to your Excellency for making known to them such a rare and complete collection of works on the languages and ethnology of Africa and Polynesia."

In the collection thus alluded to, now in the South African Public Library, there are publications and manuscripts in, or relating to, seventy-eight African

languages and dialects, comprising 815 books in all. There are specimens of over twenty Australian dialects given in forty books. Sir G. Grey's researches, as published in his "Journal of Two Expeditions," first proved that all South Australian languages were related to each other. Many works on the structure and grammar of these dialects were written by Captain Grey himself, whilst a large proportion of the others were prepared at his request or published at his expense.

Nearly 40 books and manuscripts relate to the Papuan languages.

In the Fijian language, the different dialects of five islands, there are 42 works.

Rotuma or Granville Island contributes 4 works.

In the Maori language, spoken by the native inhabitants of New Zealand, the Chatham and Auckland Islands, there are 524 books and manuscripts. Many of these volumes contain a great collection of different poems, legends, letters, vocabularies, etc., each complete in itself. The entire number of leaves represented by the 524 Maori books is 13,216. There are also 8 books in the Dayak language spoken in Borneo.

As soon as Sir George Grey presented his library to Cape Town, Dr. Bleek was engaged to classify, arrange, translate, compare, and comment on the vast collection of manuscripts and printed works in the various African dialects. His heart was in the work, and his letters for several years to Sir George Grey show how efficient his services were.

On the death of Dr. Bleek, Professor Max Müller and Mr. A. H. Sayce wrote to Sir Bartle Frere, High Commissioner for the Cape Colony, testifying to the great importance of the work that had been done by Dr. Bleek, and hoping that a fit successor would be

found to carry on his devoted labours, "who, besides being entrusted by Government with the continuation of Dr. Bleek's philological labours, should have charge of the valuable collection of philological books and manuscripts entrusted by Sir George Grey to the safe keeping of the Cape Colony, and maintain it, if possible, in that state of completeness and efficiency in which it was left by its munificent donor."

Of more general interest to the visiting public than these books, in strange tongues, from barbarous lands, are the costly illuminated manuscripts and missals, and early black letter printed works. They are in many languages indeed, but the history of the times from which they date is, at least in part, known to us.

The manuscripts number 120, and range from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries. Many of them are on vellum, and most of them are magnificently illuminated. They are written, not in Latin alone, but also in French, German, Italian, Dutch, English, Greek and Hebrew.

Amongst them are two valuable Dante manuscripts, several of Petrarch's, one of the earliest manuscript copies of the "*Roman de la Rose*," and an old Flemish manuscript of Sir John Mandeville's travels.

The early printed books are classed under two heads, Continental and English. There are a great number in the first division, of which no less than one hundred were published within fifty years of the invention of printing. In the second class there are 316 books, whose quaint titles, peculiar spelling, strange expressions, and old-world beliefs are irresistibly attractive. Many of these are priceless, some so rare that they could not possibly be replaced, while in the case of others the loss of a leaf might detract £100 or £200 from their value.

It would be impossible to enumerate these books.

It is equally impossible to pass them over without special mention of any. To begin with, there is a very valuable English translation of Polychronicon, dated 1482, printed by Caxton, the only production of his press bearing the date of that year. This is a complete copy. Latterly an incomplete copy, with at least two leaves missing, was sold for £500.

The historical books range from the creation, through Roman history to the affairs of England, Ireland, and Scotland at the time of their publication. The contemporary history and political literature are treated of in books with such titles as the following:—"Sir Walter Rawleigh's Ghost, or England's Fore-warner—Discovering a Secret Consultation newly holden in the Court of Spaine, Together with his Tormenting of Count de Gondomar, and his strange affrightment, Confession, and publique Recantation, laying open many treacheries for the subversion of England." A quaint old newspaper, without title-page, printer's name or place, is headed thus—"Mercurius Pragmaticus — Communicating Intelligence from all Parts, touching all Affaires, Designes, Humors, and Conditions throughout the Kingdom, Especially from Westminster and the Head-quarters. From Tuesday, August 8, to Tuesday, August 15, 1648." Then there is "A true narrative of the Horrid Plot and Conspiracy of the Popish Party against the Life of His Sacred Majesty, the Government, and the Protestant Religion."

What a contrast to the short titles of modern books is the following, but what modern title could so whet our curiosity, or prove so suggestive of interest and amusement?—"The discoverie of Witchcraft, Wherein the lewde dealing of witches and witch-mongers is notablie detected, the knavrie of conjurors, the impietie of inchantors, the follie of soothsaiers, the

impudent falshood of consenors, the infidelitie of atheists, the pestilent practices of Pythonists, the curiositie of figure casters, the vanitie of dreamers, the beggerlie art of Alcumystrie, The abhomination of idolatrie, the horrible art of poisoning, the vertue and power of naturall magike, and all the connivances of Legierdemaine and iuggling are deciphered. . . . Hereunto is added a treatise upon the nature and substance of spirits and divels, etc." First edition. Many copies of this edition were burnt by order of James I. This copy is in fine preservation, and bears date 1584.

The true story of a rich man's avarice and its tragic requital, attended with much blue flame and other suggestive and unnatural appearance in broad daylight, is contained in *The Moving Devil; or, Strange News out of Hartfortshire*, published in 1678.

Delightful reading, too, are many of those "most famous, pleasant, and delectable" adventures of heroes, knights, and paladins. Fifty chap-books deal with the sorrows, the joys, the loves and hates, the virtues and the vices of the forerunners of the heroes and heroines found in modern fiction.

Forty-two volumes represent original editions of works published by Daniel Defoe, or attributed to him. In this collection also may be found the first complete edition of Chaucer's works, dated 1532, "Probably the only book with a printed date issued from the press of Godfray. It is also the FIRST EDITION of the ENTIRE *Works of Chaucer*, with the exception of the *Ploughman's Tale*, which latter was first printed by Bonham or Reynes in 1542."*

The only complete copy of the First Folio Edition of Shakespeare's plays existing out of Europe is in the South African Library. It is dated 1623. There

is also a copy of the Second Edition of the same work. One copy of this edition was sold in 1864 for £148.

Amongst other valuable early editions are *Paradise Lost*, printed in 1669, which is precisely the same as the first edition of 1667, with the exception of the prefixes; the first original edition of Young's *Night Thoughts*, 1743, a very rare book; and the first edition of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, a complete copy.

A copy of a work which is regarded by some of the highest authorities as "the most curious and elaborate of all the books printed in England in the fifteenth century" is found in the Grey Collection. It bears the title, *Bartholomew Glanville de Proprietatibus Rerum*, and was printed by Wynkyn de Wirde, in 1494. It is a complete compendium of mediæval science, and the copy in the South African Library is in excellent preservation.

The bestowal of such a princely gift upon the people of South Africa fitly crowned the noble work performed during eight years by Sir George Grey. If his achievements in New Zealand entitled him to the unbounded praise bestowed by Earl Grey, Sir Frederick Peel, and the Duke of Newcastle, those which he accomplished in South Africa may fairly challenge comparison with the record of any Government in any age during the history of the world.

Description is unnecessary, for the simple records of history are themselves a vivid description. Comparison is impossible, for no such scene of chaos in every department of a State was ever before reduced into such perfect order. The most unerring evidence which can possibly be given as to the merit and value of Gray's work in South Africa is found in the unanimous and concurrent testimony of all classes and diverse races of its people, and the universal affection yet borne to his memory.

Book the Sixth.

SECOND GOVERNORSHIP OF NEW ZEALAND, 1861-1867.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

NEW ZEALAND AFFAIRS FROM 1853 TO 1861.

“ When sorrows come, they come not single spies
But in battalions.”

Hamlet.

SIR GEORGE GREY landed in Auckland on the 26th September, 1861. The history of New Zealand for the eight years which had elapsed since the Constitution was brought into force, had been one of singular expansion and misfortune.

The Maoris viewed the introduction of the new Government at first with suspicion, and at last with open enmity. They understood the Government of the Queen as administered through her representative. When the swift campaign of Ruapekapeka had been brought to a close, and Sir George Grey, by mingled firmness and conciliation, had subdued and disarmed all opposition, they submitted willingly to the rule of a firm, a vigorous, and a friendly hand.

The Governor was indeed a great chief. He could call for assistance and advice upon his council; but in himself rested the powers of legislation so far as they were concerned, and his hand wielded the rod of

sovereignty. If they were injured or wronged by Europeans or other natives, the Governor's ear was open to their cries for assistance. His arm was equally strong to punish and to protect. If they needed advice, the Council Chamber of the Governor was always accessible. * If they desired aid for schools, for churches, for flour-mills, for farming implements and stock, they appealed to the Governor, and not in vain.

With their plaintive farewells to Governor Grey, and the pathetic songs which followed him as he left the shores of New Zealand, the old order of things closed and passed away.

When the first Parliament met in Auckland under the Constitution, many Maori chiefs gathered on the spot now occupied by the Supreme Court, and watched with anxiety and forebodings the installation of the new system of government. They could not understand its meaning. Some of the leading chiefs determined to test both the power and disposition of this new authority.

They sent a request to the Government for assistance to build a flour-mill in the Waikato. They soon found that the old direct and personal rule of the Governor had gone for ever.

The system of responsible and party government in New Zealand was inaugurated by a party struggle. In the heat of this political conflict the Maori request was slighted, and the chiefs retired to the Waikato, convinced that a dark day had dawned for the native people.

Gradually the separation between the two races widened, until in 1859, only five years after Sir George Grey had left the colony in perfect peace, the conflict at the Waitara again lit up the flames of war, which burned fiercely, though intermittently, for over ten years.

Nor had the introduction of local self-government been more fortunate in its aspect towards and influence upon the European colonists. As soon as the strong hand of Sir George Grey was removed from the reins of power, the aggressive and acquisitive spirit of a large section of the early colonists asserted itself strongly. The wise and beneficent laws concerning the acquisition of land, and its taxation, were set aside. In provinces where there were valuable waste lands of the Crown available for settlement, laws were speedily passed which enabled those who had political power or official position to monopolise great territories, and stop the expansion of that system of settlement which Sir George Grey had fondly believed to be permanently established. Thus in the Wellington and Canterbury provinces especially, and in Nelson and Marlborough also, wide tracts of valuable land were seized upon by those who subordinated their public position to their private ends.

The number of the European population had greatly swollen, not only by natural growth, but by the constant influx of fresh colonists. The infant settlements of Otago and Canterbury had expanded into populous and thriving communities. Commerce, manufactures, agriculture, as well as flocks and herds—all had increased.

There was an utter want of sympathy between the settlers and the Maoris in New Zealand. Jealousy, distrust, and suspicion existed on both sides. A very slight breath of air was needed to fan the smouldering embers of discontent into the destroying flames of war. Such a state of affairs could not last long. The events which led to the actual outbreak were these.

The European colonists in New Plymouth (which had been originally founded by the New Zealand Company) clamoured for land upon which to settle.

The Government, under Colonel Gore-Browne, proceeded to purchase from the natives such tracts as they were willing to sell. At the Waitara, near New Plymouth, a large area of fertile soil offered many advantages for occupation, and was much coveted by the Europeans. On a part of this land a native chief, Wi Kingi, who with his people had been for many years converted to Christianity, had built a township, where almost in European fashion his people dwelt. Their cottages were surrounded by fields and cultivations. The school house was regularly filled with children. Morning and night the church bell called the people to their simple worship. It would have been difficult in any land owned by a savage race, or in any country suddenly brought under the dominion of an alien people, to find a community more peaceful or more happy than Wi Kingi and his tribe at Waitara by the sea.

Of all the spots in New Zealand, filled as the islands are with places of surpassing beauty, no locality possessed more natural attractions than the district surrounding this native village. Journeying from Auckland to Wellington by the West Coast, the eye of the traveller rested with unalloyed pleasure upon the Māori township, surrounded by its pleasant fields, backed by the lofty glories of Mount Egmont. Peaceful and sequestered, the very last thought to be suggested in the human mind would be that this spot was to become the theatre where should be waged the first conflict of a bloody and expensive war.

Conflicts had taken place between the followers of Ihaia and Wi Kingi at the Waitara, in which blood had been freely shed; and the people at Taranaki became restless and alarmed. Peace was, however, made between the contending natives in June, 1858.

In March, 1859, Governor Browne went to New

Plymouth. He was welcomed by both Europeans and natives. The European settlers were pressing and persistent in their applications for land on which to make homes. The Governor held a meeting with the Maoris, and caused it to be made known that he desired to purchase land for the Europeans. At the meeting Teira rose, and offered to sell to the Government the territory on the south bank of the Waitara. The Governor agreed to purchase if the title were found to be in Teira and his people. Teira thereupon laid a mat at the feet of the Governor as a testimony that the sale was completed.

Wi Kingi, who was present, immediately rose. He called upon the Governor to listen to his words. He would not permit Waitara to be sold. Waitara was his. He would not give it up. Never! Never! Never!

Immediately after the repetition of his immutable purpose, Wi Kingi called upon his people, and followed by them all, withdrew from the meeting.

The Government then proceeded to purchase the Waitara from Teira. Wi Kingi protested against their action, and still declared the land was his. He affirmed that this had been admitted by Governor Grey, and that upon the original map of the district would be found the surveyor's line marking the boundary between his land and that which Teira or Ihaia or any other chief had power to sell. No such plan was, however, found; and Commissioners were sent by the Government to inquire as to the title.

Before these Commissioners Wi Kingi refused to appear. He alleged that they were servants of the Government, and would therefore be influenced against him. He demanded that a proper tribunal should be appointed—a Judge of the Supreme Court, or some other impartial and independent authority. This was refused. Wi Kingi gave no evidence, and

the Commissioners reported in Teira's favour. The Government thereupon bought from him and gave notice to Wi Kingi and his people to leave the land.

Surveyors sent by the Government were removed from the land by the women belonging to Wi Kingi's tribe. Soldiers, volunteers, and militia, in their turn, drove the Maoris off the disputed territory with great carnage, and the whole coast became involved in a war which, during the next two years, became general.

Teira's object in selling was not so much the desire to assert title, as to be revenged on Wi Kingi and his people. A Maori girl had deserted Teira's son, to whom she was engaged, and transferred her affections to a favourite nephew of Wi Kingi. The latter acknowledging the indignity which, according to native custom, had been offered to Teira, sent thirty sovereigns and a valuable horse as a peace offering to the offended chief.

Teira brooded over the insult. The money and the horse were not a sufficient atonement. The savage passions of his ancestors, dominant in him, demanded a more serious payment. "Utu" could only be satisfied by blood. To embroil the proud and high-spirited chief with the Queen's Government would wash away in reddened streams all traces of the insult which had been offered to him and to his hapu. Thus, as in other lands and other times, disappointed love, treacherous revenge, and war, went hand in hand.

Many years afterwards, when thousands of lives and millions of treasure had been expended, a competent tribunal did take evidence and hear the case, which showed without the shadow of a doubt that the land belonged to Wi Kingi. Teira himself admitted Wi Kingi's superior right. Wi Kingi and his witnesses

did not appear, but the evidence adduced by his antagonists was so conclusive in his favour that the Judges of the Native Land Court were convinced that they were bound to give judgment for him. Startled by the peculiar position of the case, and remembering that the title to the Waitara had been the cause of a dreadful war, the judges adjourned the court to deliberate upon the course they should pursue. Wi Kingi was not only not before the court. He had not applied for the exercise of its jurisdiction. It was, however, evident that a verdict must be given against the applicants then appearing. Such a verdict, openly pronounced, would involve momentous results. It was, indeed, not only of Colonial, but Imperial importance.

With the concurrence of his brother judges, Mr. Fenton, the Chief Judge of the Native Lands Court, sent a memorandum to the Government of the day requesting that a Minister might come to New Plymouth and decide upon the step which the Government would deem it necessary to take.

His request was complied with. One of the Ministers—said to be Colonel Russell—visited the town where the Court was sitting, and took upon himself the conduct of the proceedings. What arrangement was made with the native applicants it is impossible to say. But when the Court again opened, no one appeared in support of the application; the case was indefinitely adjourned for want of prosecution; and to this day the title to the Waitara has never been determined.

The blood, the treasure, the national good faith which we so freely wasted in that terrible conflict must be placed to the account of the Colonial and English Governments in the pages of history.

The unhappy dispute between Wi Kingi and the

Government was aggravated by appeals made to a new authority, which had meanwhile come into existence in the person of the Maori King, who was none other than Sir George Grey's old and trusted friend Te Whero-Whero. After Grey's departure, and the establishment of responsible government in New Zealand, the Maoris, believing themselves to be injured and rendered practically helpless by the new system, had determined to make a king among themselves.

On the 14th of July, 1857, Te Whero-Whero, under the name of Potatau, formally accepted the Kingship, and sent a message to that effect to the different Maori tribes. The restrictions which Sir George Grey had placed upon the sale of ammunition and firearms to the natives had been removed by his successor, acting on the advice of his responsible advisers. The remonstrances of those who foresaw the evil effects of such a course were overruled. The Maoris became eager purchasers of firearms, powder and lead. Their old weapons were also repaired to an extent which was not permitted by Sir George Grey.

Thus, while on the one hand the Colonial Government was alienating the affections and arousing the fears of the Maoris, it was, on the other, permitting, almost inviting the tribes to arm themselves for war.

CHAPTER XL.

THE WAIKATO WAR.

“ But who, if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment to which Heaven has joined
Great issues, good or bad for human kind,
Is happy as a lover.”

Wordsworth.

SIR GEORGE GREY'S reception in New Zealand was enthusiastic. All traces of the bitterness which had been felt towards him by many of the early settlers had disappeared. Time had removed many unfavourable impressions and justified many of his actions hitherto misconstrued. The clamours which for many years had echoed against him had died away, and the old colonists lost their memories of fancied slights and arbitrary rule, and remembered only the courage, the skill, and wisdom which had been so signally displayed in the nine years of his former government. Public meetings were held, and congratulatory addresses largely signed before his arrival. The address presented in Wellington was written by Dr. Featherstone, and the following passage is taken from it:—

“Remembering the warm interest which during your former administration you ever took in the advancement of these provinces, and the many and important benefits you then conferred upon us, we cannot refrain from availing ourselves of the opportunity afforded by your arrival amongst us to give you a hearty welcome, and to renew the expressions

of our personal esteem and respect, and of our most fervent wishes for the success of the policy you have inaugurated, and for your own health and happiness."

The loyal chiefs welcomed him back to their country, and presented addresses equal in depth and fire to those which his departure from the colony in 1853 had drawn forth. These Sir George enclosed to the Secretary of State, for the Queen's perusal.

Her Majesty was so much pleased with them, that at her suggestion the Duke of Newcastle sent a copy of one to the *Times* for publication. In a letter from the Duke to Sir George, dated November 26th, 1862, he wrote:—

"The Queen was greatly gratified and touched by the feeling and poetic address of the New Zealand chiefs, and desired me to tell you so. It was at Her Majesty's suggestion that I sent a copy of it to the *Times*, so that it might be read and admired by all her subjects."

On the Governor's arrival in New Zealand, six thousand soldiers were placed by the War Office at his disposal. Without loss of time he met the Ministry then in power, obtained possession of all the information available, and with characteristic energy proceeded to concert his plans to terminate the present disastrous state of affairs, and to restore peace and tranquillity to the colony. He resolved to employ the troops in road-making, especially in those directions and localities where roads were indispensable for military purposes.

Governor Browne's manifesto was set aside, and the Maoris were informed that military operations against them would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Various reforms among the natives themselves were also initiated. The Maori tribes which had not be-

come actual participators in warlike operations eagerly accepted the institutions framed by the Governor. But the great Waikato tribes, among whom William King was an honoured guest, were still silent and sullen.

The military roads which the soldiers, under Sir George Grey's instructions, were making into the Waikato, steadily advanced. The Maoris declared that so long as the road was in the Queen's country they would take no notice. If, however, it were carried across the Maungatawhiri River into the land nominally rendering allegiance to the Maori king they would take it as a declaration of war.

At that time Mr. John Gorst (since Sir John Gorst, Under-Secretary for India) exercised official duties as magistrate in that district. He established a school and printing press at Te Awamutu. The Maoris had a newspaper at Ngaruawahia, a few miles distant, and Mr. Gorst also published one at Te Awamutu. In the columns of Mr. Gorst's paper the king question was discussed without hesitation. The Waikato chiefs were offended at his plain speech.

One morning a Ngatimaniapoto chief, named Patane, accompanied by thirty armed men, visited Te Awamutu, and requested Mr. Gorst at once to depart. He refused. Patane argued, some of his principal followers joining in. Gorst was obdurate. The Maori school children clambered on the fence around the school, and, with bright eyes and laughing brown faces, clapped their hands and enjoyed the fun.

After a time Patane, discomfited, and doubtful of his own authority, withdrew. His reward was a censure from the King's Government, and a request to the great chief Rewi that he would keep his subordinate chiefs in better order. A law was issued, however, from the King's Council, prohibiting all Maoris from

seeking redress in Mr. Gorst's court, which was thereafter abandoned by the natives.

On New Year's Day, 1863, the Governor paid his last friendly visit to the Waikato. The canoe in which he travelled upon the river was manned by some of the late King's personal friends, for Te Whero-Whero had paid the last debt, and gone to his fathers. He had died in 1860, and his son Matutaera, commonly known as Tawhiao, was elected to succeed him. He was buried at Ngaruawahia.

On the 3rd of January the Governor, leaving his large Maori escort, rode alone to Ngaruawahia. Dismounting at Te Whero-Whero's grave, he stood for a time thinking of the scenes through which in the days gone by he and the Maori King had passed together.

As he meditated, a crowd of Maoris, attracted by the sight of the solitary pakeha standing by the King's last resting-place, drew near. He was suddenly recognised by some of the older chiefs. With shouts of joy which might almost have waked the dead, the Maori cry of welcome, "Haeremai! Haeremai!" echoed far and wide.

Tawhiao was not at Ngaruawahia, but Te Paea, the King's sister, and some chiefs were there. Messengers mounted upon fleet horses were at once sent to the King and to his principal chiefs. Immediately upon receiving the news of the Governor's visit, Tawhiao mounted and rode hard to see him. But he was stout and not strong, and suffered so much that he was obliged to stay at a place called Rangiaohia. Anxious lest Sir George Grey should misconstrue his absence, Tawhiao sent a certificate, signed by the Maori missionary and the Maori catechist, testifying to his condition, and stating that he could go no further.

The great chief, Tamehana, with a number of other

heads of the different tribes, had a long consultation with the Governor. It was upon this occasion that a statement was made by Sir George Grey which has always been imperfectly interpreted and misconstrued. Tamehana asked the Governor if he was opposed to the King. To this Sir George replied, "I shall not fight against him with the sword, but shall dig round him with good deeds till he falls of his own accord."

In all the reports which have been made of this celebrated speech of the Governor, the words "with good deeds" are invariably omitted. This omission alters its meaning altogether, and changes a friendly and benevolent intention into a direct threat.

The chiefs desired to have a longer interview with the Governor, Tamehana and many others being most anxious to avoid war. A great meeting was decided on, to which the Governor was to be invited. That meeting was never held, for Sir George, tired and unwell, had been called to Auckland on urgent business.

The hostile attitude of the natives, for a short time allayed by the Governor's visit, was gradually resumed. On the 24th of March, 1863, Rewi, with a large force of armed men, visited Te Awamutu, and finally told Mr. Gorst that he must leave. All next day the discussion continued. Rewi was determined. If Mr. Gorst remained at Te Awamutu he would be put to death. Mr. Gorst refused absolutely to leave without the Governor's orders. An armistice was agreed upon, giving the European magistrate time to write to Auckland. Gorst's letter speaks for itself;—

Awamutu, March 25th, 1863.

My dear Sir George Grey,—The natives have utterly beaten me at last, broken the press and taken away the pieces, and effected a lodgment on the ground, from which they refused to

stir until I left the place. At last, by dint of great obstinacy, I have got an armistice to communicate with you, and if you allow me to remove I am to retire with the honours of war, *i.e.*, all the property. . . . Rewi allows three weeks in which to receive your answer, but he says if you leave me, you leave me to death.—
Your faithful servant,

J. E. GORST.

Upon receiving this letter the Governor immediately issued his instructions to Mr. Gorst to retire. He knew Rewi too well to doubt his iron inflexibility. He was well assured that if one hour beyond the three weeks elapsed, and Mr. Gorst still remained at Te Awamutu without orders to leave, he would no longer be in the land of the living. It is not given to every Secretary for India in peaceful England to be able to look back upon a time when in very deed and truth his days were numbered.

Nor had Mr. Gorst himself a shadow of a doubt of the reality of his own peril. He, too, knew Rewi. He knew that dogged resolution which was so strong a feature in the old chief's character. When, during the war that followed, the name of Rewi became immortalised by the stern heroism of the defence of Orakau, neither the Governor nor the magistrate felt surprised. The type and other metal taken by the natives was cast by them into bullets, and used in the war which followed.

During the next eventful three weeks the fate of New Zealand was being decided, not at Te Awamutu between Rewi and Mr. Gorst, but at Taranaki and Waitara. The inquiries which Sir George Grey had made regarding the ownership of the land at Waitara convinced him that Wi Kingi's contention was correct, and that in truth he and his people were the real owners, according to native custom, of the disputed territory.

The Governor made personal inquiries for an old

plan which he belived that he had himself seen, on which appeared a line showing Wi Kingi's boundary, and effectually settling the question. He was assured by his Ministers that there was no such plan, and that although Wi Kingi himself had appealed to it, the conception of its existence was a mistake.

The Governor was uneasy and disturbed. He proceeded to New Plymouth, and personally examined officers and documents. Especially important evidence was afforded by Mr. Bates, a lieutenant in the Sixty-fifth, who occupied the position of Native Interpreter to the Forces. It became evident that there had been such a plan, and that upon it the boundary line as stated had been drawn. Mr. Bell (now Sir Dillon Bell, recently Agent-General for New Zealand) was in attendance upon the Governor during the investigations. Mr. Bell still insisted that the idea of the plan and the boundary line was a mistake. Before advising Governor Browne to assume military possession of the land at Waitara Ministers had taken every precaution to assure themselves and His Excellency that they were right. They still adhered to this statement. In regard to the plan alluded to, the only thing of that nature of which Ministers were aware was an old tracing recently found in the office at New Plymouth.

Sir George desired that this tracing or plan might be sent for. On this being done, and the plan produced, the Governor detected the very boundary line the existence of which was denied.

Mr. Bell was overcome with astonishment. Impulsive and impressionable, the sudden disclosure of a fact which threw such lurid light upon the whole conduct of the Government in the matter confounded him. Amid the silence which followed the Governor's discovery Mr. Bell requested permission to withdraw.

Sir George Grey was left alone with the map on the table before him.

The Governor's mind was immediately made up as to the course to be pursued. He determined that the land should be publicly given back to Wi Kingi, that the purchase from Teira should be rescinded, and that all the reparation now possible should be made.

Calling his Ministers together, he laid the facts fully before them. A great wrong had been done, in which Ministers, Parliament, and the Crown had all participated. The loss of life had been lamentable, and the expenditure of treasure great. It was indeed humiliating to the last degree to confess that the Government was wrong and the natives right, but the demand made by justice was inexorable. The only course consistent with honour was to acknowledge frankly the wrong that had been done and offer reparation.

The Cabinet, at last convinced, were yet unwilling to humble themselves and, as they thought, the colony in the way and to the extent insisted upon by the Governor. For a considerable time, stretching over several weeks, they hesitated to adopt a course which to them was exceedingly bitter.

Their hesitation and the delay consequent upon it were fatal to all hopes of a speedy reconciliation between the races. The Maoris, ignorant of Sir George Grey's plans regarding the Waitara, and alarmed by certain movements of the troops, laid an ambuscade on the 4th of May, which destroyed a party of the 57th Regiment on their way from the camp to New Plymouth. Four days afterwards, on the 8th of May, Ministers tardily published the proclamation in the *Gazette*.

It was too late. Had the Ministry, when convinced of the wrong which had been done, honourably

admitted the error and allowed the Governor at once to issue his proclamation, the ambuscade in which the party of the 57th fell would never have been laid, and peace might well have been restored.

As the Maoris said in relation to this matter, "The fire had been put to the fern," and the flames swept in a short time over all the centre of the North Island.

From this time forward the conflict continued. Nearly twenty thousand men were put in the field. The story of the New Zealand war, with its long catalogue of sufferings and incapacity, and of gallant deeds on both sides, is a matter of history—affecting more the history of New Zealand than the biography of its Governor.

Well established as the foregoing facts are, many of Sir George Grey's political opponents attempted to throw the responsibility of the Waikato war upon him, and not upon his Ministers. Mr. C. F. Hursthouse, in his pamphlet, *The Case of New Zealand*, says: "Just or unjust, necessary or unnecessary, the war was the Governor's, and not the colonists'." Rather more than eighteen months after the ambuscade at the Waitara, on the 25th of January, 1865, a letter from Mr. Fitzgerald appeared in the *Times*, containing the serious charge that "Sir G. Grey, although he had many months before promised to investigate the Waitara case, and to do justice in it, proceeded early in 1863 to march an army into the Tataraimaka to recover it, before having made any inquiry into the facts of the Waitara."

This letter called forth a prompt reply from another New Zealander. The writer of this answer is believed to have been Colonel (now General Sir George) Whitmore. He emphatically denied Mr. Fitzgerald's statement, and added—

"It is difficult to imagine how Mr. Fitzgerald, who

is a member of the Assembly, and who shows himself well up in some parts of the colonial blue-books, can make the statement that the Tataraimaka was occupied before 'having made any inquiry at all into the facts of the Waitara.' Before troops moved to the Tataraimaka the two principal colonial Ministers, Messrs. Domett and Bell, who were at New Plymouth, had settled with Sir G. Grey that the Waitara was to be given up, and it was the openly avowed intention of the Governor and Ministers to occupy the Tataraimaka and evacuate the Waitara on the same day.

"When the day fixed (the 4th of April) came, the troops marched out, but the Ministers had not yet prepared the proclamation giving effect to their decision on the Waitara question, and it was solely owing to their not having done so that the one block of land was occupied before the other was evacuated. I know that few, if any, of the events which have taken place in New Zealand since that have caused Sir G. Grey or Sir Duncan Cameron so much annoyance as the delay of the Ministers in issuing their proclamation,—a delay to which it is entirely attributable that we are placed in the false position of appearing to give up the Waitara from fear, because it was not done until after the murders were committed. These facts are patent to all who were there at the time, and I can further state that several of the friendly chiefs were told, before the murders were committed, that the Waitara was to be given up; but as day after day passed and no proclamation came forth they began to disbelieve it, and when a month passed and still no proclamation appeared, is it to be wondered at that the natives came to the conclusion that we did not mean to keep our word about the Waitara, because we had been allowed to occupy the

Tataraimaka in peace—a conclusion to which some of our own party were also brought by the unaccountable delay?"*

Seeing that this matter is of momentous importance, and that the whole facts of the Waitara case, with the concluding evidence given by Mr. Fenton, the Chief Judge, is now placed upon record, it is absolutely certain that the whole responsibility for that terrible conflict rests not upon the shoulders of Sir George Grey, but upon those of the Ministry of the day.

The difficulties by which Sir George Grey was surrounded prevented him from calling into requisition his own peculiar aptitude for dealing with savage races under such circumstances as those which now existed in New Zealand. Fettered in one direction by Parliament and a responsible Ministry, he was precluded in the other from taking a controlling part in the conduct of the campaign. The troops were under the orders of the General in command, who was not responsible to the Governor, but to the Ministry in England.

General Cameron, though skilled in European campaigning, was inexperienced in bush warfare. He held too lightly both the courage and capacity of the Maoris, and received during the two or three years of his command in New Zealand several severe repulses, which created dissatisfaction and anger among his troops, and tended to prolong the strife. Had Sir George Grey possessed absolute command, it is probable that six months would have seen the end of the war. A few sharp lessons would have taught the Maoris that the forces of the Crown, properly led and guided, were not to be resisted.

That this is no exaggerated idea may be justly

* *Times*, January 31st, 1865.

inferred, not only from Sir George Grey's former experience and exploits in New Zealand and South Africa, but from circumstances which happened during the war itself.

Between New Plymouth and Wanganui the Maoris had built a pah at Te Wereroa. From this pah they issued from time to time in marauding parties. The reduction of Wereroa became an absolute necessity. Representations were made to the Governor, and through the Governor to the General. Sir George Grey himself expressed his desire that the Wereroa pah should be destroyed.

General Cameron refused to undertake the duty. He said it would require at least two thousand (in all 6,000) more troops than he had under his orders available for the task. When further urged, the General accused the New Zealand Government of indifference as to the lives of Her Majesty's soldiers. He also refused permission to Colonel Waddy to march a regiment towards the pah to act, not as a reserve, but as a support for the Colonial forces.

For some time the natives within the pah had expressed a desire to agree to terms of capitulation. While these overtures were under consideration fresh supplies and reinforcements found their way into the Wereroa. Major Rookes and Captain McDonnell spent some days at a pah belonging to the chief stronghold, while the natives debated whether it should be peace or war. Eventually the white men were told to go, as the defenders had resolved to hold the place.

• Meanwhile several friendly chiefs had hastened to Wellington to ask the Governor himself for assistance in subduing the Hauhaus who had mustered behind the strong defences of Wereroa. When these Maoris

arrived at Government House it was late at night, and Sir George Grey was asleep. Knowing the character of the Governor, they demanded and obtained immediate admittance. Sitting on the floor or standing round the bed they traced diagrams describing the position and construction of the pah, and told of the distress which the settlers and loyal natives suffered from its occupation by the rebels.

As Major Rookes retired from the Perikame pah, after learning the final decision of its garrison to fight and not to yield, he met the Governor on his way to the Wereroa, and turned back with him. Sir George Grey was quite convinced in his own mind "that all intention of giving the pah up had been abandoned by the mass of the people in it, and that they would not do it, and were only pretending in order to gain time."

No trace of this distrust appeared in his conduct. He accepted the invitation to go up and take possession of the fortress, two of the chiefs who had ridden out to meet him returning to the pah in order to make preparation for his reception.

They advanced to within one hundred and twenty yards of the palisading, and then were stopped by natives who came out of the pah, and asked the various conditions of the terms which would be granted if they gave up the fortress. What followed is concisely told in the Governor's memorandum on the subject :—

"They then said it was all satisfactory, and Aperahama, the principal chief of the pah, came out and requested that Hori Kingi and myself alone would at once go into the pah. Hori Kingi came to my side (we were on horseback), and said, 'Oh, Governor, do not let us go in; ride up and touch the fence with

your hand,* and let that satisfy you: do not let us go in.'

"I saw he was in great fear of treachery. Several of the natives earnestly begged me not to go on, saying the people in the pah were fanatics, given up to old customs.

"I told Hori Kingi that he must come on. He gave way, and Mr. Parris, myself, Hori Kingi, and Hori Kerei, rode on towards the pah. When we arrived within about thirty or forty yards of the pah, the priest of the fanatics came out, and ordered the natives not to allow us to come farther, that they would not give up the pah, and Hori Kingi said that he saw their guns prepared, and that we should be fired on if we moved on; and the friendly chiefs of the Wereroa pah, who stood between us and the pah, seeing what was intended, prayed us not to go on."

Although alluded to so quietly, the danger in which the little party stood was most imminent. Colonel Rookes says that the palisading before them bristled with *tuparas* (double-barrelled guns) levelled at the Governor, while the clicking of the guns being cocked was distinctly heard.

One of the old chiefs rushed from the pah, and, holding up a blanket before Sir George Grey, implored him to turn back. Standing between the guns and those whom they menaced he brought them a temporary protection. But he assured the Governor that the Maoris were in grim earnest, and that any attempt to advance closer to the gateway of the pah would inevitably bring death upon the whole party.

Even then Sir George hesitated to withdraw. For a few minutes he endeavoured to reason with the

* A sign to the native mind of the establishment of authority.

excited natives, calling upon his "children" to reflect, and not to break their word or behave so badly. At last, convinced of the uselessness of further argument, he slowly gave the order to retire—an order which was welcomed and obeyed without loss of time by those in attendance upon him.

The next day the Governor received a letter from the occupants of Wereroa, saying that if he would send away the forces, then they would come to terms. His reply was characteristic :—

O Sons,—I will not cause my men to return to Wanganui. I have but one word, that your words to me be fulfilled, that I come into the pah ; then will I fulfil my words to you, and in every way I will treat you well.—Your friend,

18th July, 1865.

. G. GREY, Governor.

When it was hopeless any longer to expect a peaceful surrender of the stronghold, Sir George Grey undertook the responsibility of an assault. He mustered a few hundred men (friendly natives and Forest Rangers), assumed personal command, and in three days had taken the dreaded pah, holding its garrison as prisoners of war, without the loss of a single man.

What a contrast was this to the disastrous and bloody scenes of Rangiriri, the Gate Pah, and other places.

Another instance of the disagreements between the Governor and the General in command involved not merely the safety of the people of Taranaki, but the reputation of Sir George Grey and Colonel Warre.

About four miles from New Plymouth, a spur of the range running towards the sea from Mount Egmont falls rapidly to the South Road, and forces that road down nearly to the sea level. A celebrated pah, once held by Bob-e-Rangi, had been built there. Upon

the crest of the spur, some distance on its upward course, an old chief had built a pah, from which he and his people descending, had from time to time committed robberies and murders upon the people of New Plymouth.

Moved by the complaints of the Taranaki people, and by his own knowledge of the circumstances, the Governor invited the General to accompany him to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. From the road by the seashore they perceived distinctly the earthworks and palisading of the Maori stronghold. Sir George directed the attention of General Cameron to the fact that the interior of the pah, especially that portion of it which dominated the ascent from below, was opened to and commanded by the upper portions of the same spur, and suggested that a body of picked marksmen should take possession of the hills above the pah, and then, an attack being made in front, it would be impossible for the Maoris to approach the palisading to defend it.

General Cameron refused to take the advice tendered, using at the same time words as to the Quixotic character of the Governor, which in reality amounted to an insult.

„Shortly after this, Sir George Grey and General Cameron both proceeded to Auckland. Grey was determined that something should be done to rid the people of the West Coast from the danger by which they were continually menaced. While laying his plans, the matter was summarily ended from another quarter.

Colonel Warre, a very able and energetic officer, had been left in command in Taranaki. Moved by the evident military necessity and by the representations of the settlers there, and being ignorant of the refusal already given by his commanding officer, he

proceeded to drive out the obnoxious garrison. After careful inspection of the stronghold, he took the very steps which Sir George Grey had urged upon the General. Throwing a strong force of riflemen along the range above the pah, he attacked it in front.

When the old chief and his people rushed to the palisading to repel the attacking force, they were paralysed by the firing from the hills above them. After having suffered some loss in killed and wounded, they fled from the pah by the sides which led into the dense forests and escaped. The troops suffered no loss.

General Cameron immediately concluded that there was a conspiracy against him existing between the Governor and Colonel Warre. He wrote to the Horse Guards, accusing Sir George Grey and the Colonel of this supposed conspiracy. Both were called upon by the Duke of Cambridge to explain. Both denied emphatically that any correspondence, direct or indirect, verbal or written, had ever passed between them on the subject, Sir George Grey stating that he had never received any letter from Colonel Warre but one enclosing some sketches of scenery which the Colonel, who was an artist, had forwarded to him; and the only letter that he had written to that officer was one thanking him for his kindness and praising the pictures themselves.

He added that he was not surprised at Colonel Warre's action, because it was evidently induced by proper military considerations, and was such as should have suggested itself to any officer in command.

The Duke of Cambridge afterwards told Sir George Grey that in spite of his emphatic denial and that of Colonel Warre, he found himself bound to accept the

statement of General Cameron, his own immediate subordinate. To Sir George Grey this mattered nothing, but Colonel Warre for years afterwards found that this unjust and untruthful accusation was a constant bar to his promotion in the service.

The war was virtually at an end in 1866. A few skirmishes and casual encounters did indeed take place during the last six months of that year, but in the beginning of 1867 the troops were gradually withdrawn from New Plymouth, the last leaving in July.

One incident, not of this war, but of a conflict between two native tribes, deserves to be recorded, as it illustrates the character of the Governor and the position he held in the eyes of the Maori people.

Sir George Grey had forbidden all tribal wars. Sometimes the old nature of the Maori would overcome the new system of things, and instead of referring to the arbitration of the Governor or the tedious process of the law, an appeal to arms was made as an easy and speedy method of settlement.

On an occasion of this nature, word was brought to the Governor at Auckland that two tribes to the northward had commenced hostilities. A well-known chief named Tirirau had marched his people on to the territory of an old enemy, and was laying deliberate siege to his principal pah.

The Governor was determined to put a stop to all such proceedings. Instantly embarking in a man-of-war then in Auckland harbour he proceeded to Whangarei. Landing there in the early dawn with a half-caste guide, he obtained horses and proceeded over the ranges toward the scene of conflict. During several hours he rode as fast as the track would permit, till at length the pace and difficulty of the way told upon the horses.

By making a slight deviation he was able to call at a farm owned by a gentleman he knew. There, hastily eating breakfast—it was now high noon—he procured fresh cattle, and rapidly cleared the remaining distance, accompanied only by the guide. Upon his arrival at the pah he found the battle already begun. The besiegers had brought with them an old ship's cannon, and he could hear far off the sound of the solitary piece of ordnance. Drawing nearer, the cracking of rifles and gunshots told the fight was fast and furious. At last he came in sight of the pah, and the stockades and rifle pits of the attacking party. Putting spurs to his horse, he dashed into the line of fire and threw up his right hand, shouting at the same time to both parties to cease firing. As he rode by, the brother of Tirirau fell shot through the neck.

The person of the Governor was at once recognised. In a moment all was silent. Sir George Grey, still sitting on his panting horse, commanded both parties to come out and range themselves on either side of him without their arms. His word was law. In a few minutes several hundreds of fighting men stood drawn up in two bodies, only separated by the Governor and his orderly.

In a severe tone Sir George Grey reminded the chiefs on both sides that as the Queen's representative he had forbidden all fighting, whether for land or in revenge for any injury or insult. He bade both sides depart at once for their ordinary homes, and he would himself decide their disputes. A few of the chiefs and common men were to stay to look after the dead and wounded, the rest were to depart.

To the Maoris the voice of "Te Kuwana" was as the voice of God. To hear was to obey. Without remonstrance the defenders left the pah, the besiegers left their pits and whares. Shouldering arms, they

marched away contentedly to their various kaingas. The wounded were looked to, the dead were buried, and the Governor, having examined into the dispute—which was, as such disputes usually were, about land—settled it satisfactorily to both sides.

Personal intervention like this, regardless of danger or fatigue, challenged the admiration of the chivalrous Maoris, while the constant kindness and justice exercised towards them won their confidence and love.

CHAPTER XLI.
CHANGED POSITION OF THE GOVERNOR IN
NEW ZEALAND.

" Striving to better, oft we mar what's well."
King Lear.

ON his return to New Zealand, although but a few years had passed since he had left it, Sir George Grey thus found the natives and Europeans in deadly conflict, and he found also his liberal and democratic land administration practically destroyed.

Nor was he able under these adverse circumstances, to use the powers with which he had been invested on his first arrival in the colony. He was hampered and tied down in many ways. There was a large military force in the North Island, but not under his immediate command. General Cameron was utterly unfit to cope with the difficulties presented by the forest warfare, increased by the skill and bravery of the warlike Maoris.

Sir George found his advice slighted, his warnings laughed at. He was bitterly mortified at the sight of brave men led on to certain death, and at the spectacle presented by the humiliating repulse of British troops by a handful of half-armed savages.

Nor could he control the civil government. The Parliament of the colony had replaced his former Council and his semi-autocratic power. His exercise

of authority was not limited only by the existence of a Parliament. As the Governor of New Zealand under the Constitution, he could only act by the advice of his Ministers. He found himself impeded and harassed, thwarted and defeated, sometimes by the stiff and formal rule of the General, at others by the divided counsels and incompetence of some of his Ministers; though he was often cheered and aided by a spirit of loyalty and true friendship amongst those he called to his assistance.

From the commencement of his second period of office in New Zealand, it was evident that complications which had not before presented themselves must inevitably arise. The Home Government had for many years declared their purpose of withdrawing the Imperial forces from the distant colonies. It is not necessary here to enter into a consideration of the motives which actuated successive Ministries upon this point. Conservatives and Liberals agreed that the expense of maintaining armies in distant lands was too great to be borne, and that the scattering of different portions of the small army which England could call its own in widely sundered localities tended to weaken the nation in the Councils of Europe, and render it helpless in the event of war.

The colonists on the other hand had not yet made up their minds to rely upon themselves. And as by the Constitution they had the power of legislating for themselves, dissensions were almost sure to follow between the Government in England and the Government in New Zealand.

Between the Imperial and Colonial Governments the Governor held a most unhappy position. It was indeed impossible to conduct the affairs of the Colony at that time without giving dire offence either to the Ministers in London or to the Ministers and people

in the Colony. It was highly improbable that the Governor could escape offending both parties, and this improbability was deepened by the fact that Sir George Grey was a man of original ideas and resolute character.

On the whole, during the six years between 1861 and 1867, he worked more in harmony with the Colonial Government than with Downing Street and Pall Mall. This was not owing to any predilection of his own, but rather because the Colonial Ministry generally took the most reasonable view of matters, and acted conscientiously in the performance of their duties; while the Colonial Office and the War Office pursued their usual erratic and arbitrary course.

Sir George Grey was fully alive to the probable consequences which would follow a continued opposition to Ministers at home. But he did not permit the fear of official displeasure to distract his attention or to divert his purpose. Unforeseen contingencies also arose to add to his anxiety and trouble. One of these, typical of others, but in itself of considerable importance, and leading to grave results, took place in the following manner.

The Governor received from Mr. Cardwell, then Secretary for War, enclosed in official despatches, a communication marked "Private and Confidential." This despatch contained a statement which had been made in confidence to Mr. Cardwell, accusing the Governor of having caused certain Maori prisoners taken in battle to be put to death. Mr. Cardwell stated that the facts had been given to him from such reliable sources that he could not but believe them to be correct; that he was deeply grieved at the occurrence, and trusted that the Governor would be able to explain so serious an accusation, although he feared that explanation was impossible. He had marked

his letters "Private and Confidential," lest the records of proceedings certain to bring discredit upon the name of England should become matters of public comment.

Sir George Grey, more accustomed than Mr. Cardwell to face dangers, recognised at the first glance the false position in which the New Zealand Government, and especially himself personally, were placed by the conduct of the Secretary for War. He felt that to conceal charges so serious behind the veil of privacy and confidence was to hide fire in the midst of combustible materials.

Without hesitation he summoned a meeting of the Cabinet, and laid the "Private and Confidential" despatch before his Ministers. In explaining his conduct to them, he urged that they were accused of a very heinous crime; that he especially was singled out by some unknown enemies, and an offence equally grave in the eyes of nations and of individuals alleged against him. If this charge were true,—if by any means it could be sheeted home,—he was no longer fitted to be a Representative of the Queen, nor even to remain in her service. If on the contrary it were proved to be false, punishment of equal weight should be meted out to those by whom he had been falsely accused. If it were true, no Minister and no Representative of the Queen could properly consider it as a private and confidential matter. If it were untrue, it should be publicly exposed and refuted. And he asserted his own opinion that no unsolicited communication, although marked "Private and Confidential," which contained serious accusations against great officers of state ought to be treated in any other way than that accorded to ordinary official despatches.

The Ministers sided entirely with the Governor. Neither Governor nor Ministers knew anything of the

occurrences which were alluded to. After considerable deliberation it was resolved that rewards should be offered in the *Gazette* to anyone who could give information upon the matters contained in Mr. Cardwell's letter. It was decided to institute the strictest inquiries, and to leave no stone unturned in the search for the whole truth regarding this remarkable accusation.

The efforts of the Ministry were but scantily rewarded. They ascertained that there had been a military execution without the knowledge or consent of the Governor; that the officers of one or two of the regiments had made strong representations regarding the manner in which the victims had met their death; and that to appease their anger against a proceeding which they deemed to be disgraceful to the service, it had been in some way conveyed to them that the Governor was responsible. Some of these officers had thereupon written to their friends in England, who had in their turn communicated with the Secretary for War. Thus had arisen the grave scandal which he had desired the Governor, if possible, to explain.

Without loss of time, Sir George Grey advised Mr. Cardwell of what had been done, and transmitted a full official memorandum. The Secretary for War was grievously offended. He considered that his confidence had been abused, and his kind intentions rewarded with insult. He complained very bitterly to his colleagues of Sir George Grey's conduct, and the matter was discussed at some length by the English Cabinet.

To add to Mr. Cardwell's annoyance he found that his fellow Ministers approved of the course adopted by the Governor of New Zealand. They endorsed his opinion that the reputation of no public man

would be safe if any serious indictment could thus be brought against him under the shield of privilege.

They were not, however, inclined actively to support Sir George Grey's contention that they should enforce the regulations which provided that no man after a court-martial should be put to death in a British colony without the assent and signature of Her Majesty's representative. As we shall see, this point of contention was one of the final causes of disagreement at a later date between Sir George Grey and Earl Granville.

General Chute succeeded General Cameron, and brought to the conduct of the campaign far more energy and knowledge of bush warfare than his predecessor had displayed.

Gradually the war waned. Although the Maoris had been successful in defending many of their fortresses, their losses had been very great. The troops were gradually withdrawn, and by 1867 only one or two regiments remained in the colony.

Sir George Grey had written in very strong terms to the English Government regarding General Cameron and the Secretary of State for War. Lord Carnarvon had requested Sir George to withdraw this letter, but he declined to do so, stating that he considered it as due to his Ministers and the colony that their vindication should remain on record side by side with the accusations which had called it forth.

When Lord Carnarvon resigned his position as Secretary for the Colonies, the Duke of Buckingham took the seals of that office.

Within three months of his appointment the new Secretary, influenced, it may be presumed, by the long and growing bitterness of feeling against Sir George Grey, closed a despatch mainly upon military subjects by regretting that such serious controversies

had existed between the Governor and the officers in command of Her Majesty's forces. The noble Duke concluded by saying:—"I shall again address you upon this matter. I shall then be able to inform you of the appointment of your successor, and of the time at which he may be expected to arrive in the colony."

No notice whatever had been given by Her Majesty's Government to Sir George Grey of his intended recall. After such great achievements in peace and war, an illustrious public servant was thus summarily notified of the cessation of his duties in a paragraph that would not have been courteous if dispensing with the services of a temporary clerk in a merchant's office.

Thus were ended Sir George Grey's connection with the Colonial Office and his career as a Colonial Governor. When, fifteen years before, he had left New Zealand, the native population of the country was overwhelmed with grief. On this occasion, also, spite of war and troublous times, many of the Maori chiefs regarded with sorrow the removal of that Governor in which they recognised a sincere friend as well as an inflexible ruler. But it was from the European subjects of the Queen that Grey now received the most cordial and earnest sympathy.

Addresses, resolutions from public meetings, correspondence from many quarters, the universal consensus of praise and admiration in the colonial press, all testified to the admiration and gratitude of the New Zealand colonists for one who, during nearly twenty-five years, had been the hope, the guide, and the shield of the community.

Both Houses of Parliament in Wellington passed votes of sympathy and appreciation with an enthusiasm and unanimity rarely manifested. Colonists recognised the fact that it was in defence of their Constitutional rights and the vindication of their

liberties that Sir G. Grey had drawn upon himself 'this last and final blow from Ministers of the Crown in England.

The address voted by the Wesleyan Methodists was fairly typical of the general feeling towards the departing Governor. It was as follows :

To His Excellency Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
Governor of New Zealand, etc.

We, the ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Northern Island of the colony of New Zealand, desire, on the occasion of Your Excellency's departure from us, to acknowledge the readiness with which you have always encouraged our missionary work.

From the time of Your Excellency's first arrival in this country you took a deep interest in the educational progress and religious welfare of both races of Her Majesty's subjects in New Zealand. But particularly in our efforts for the evangelisation and civilisation of the Maori tribes, so hopefully prosecuted up to the date of the late calamitous war, the Wesleyan Mission was greatly indebted to your hearty co-operation. We shall ever remember with gratitude the personal attentions with which many of us were cheered and honoured by Your Excellency during the earlier struggles with the difficulties incidental to a new country. And now that you are about to retire from the administration of the government of this colony, we beg most respectfully to offer our cordial wishes for your future happiness ; and with our earnest prayers that the blessing of the Almighty may be with you, we bid Your Excellency an affectionate farewell.

Signed for and on behalf of all the Wesleyan ministry in this Island,

JAMES BULLER, Chairman.

Auckland, December 16, 1867.

To this Sir George Grey made the following reply :—

Reverend Gentlemen,—I thank you most sincerely for this address.

I can assure you that I have for years watched with interest and gratitude the zealous efforts you have made to promote the religious and secular welfare of both races of the Queen's subjects

in New Zealand, and especially have I felt grateful to you for the noble and self-denying efforts you have made for the evangelisation and civilisation of the people of the Maori race. You are good enough to allude to the assistance I have given you in the prosecution of these works ; but I can assure you it was to me rather a pleasure than a duty, to co-operate with you in the efforts to attain such great and important objects.

I am much obliged to you for the affectionate farewell which you bid me on my removal from office, and for your prayers and wishes for my future happiness. I shall carry the remembrance of these with me into my retirement, and shall always desire to hear of your welfare, and, if possible, to aid those for whom so many years of friendly intercourse have made me feel no ordinary esteem and regard.

Government House, Auckland,
28th December, 1867.

G. GREY.

CHAPTER XLII.

RÉTROSPECT OF SECOND NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT.

“Thou teachest me to deem
More sacredly of every human heart,
Since each reflects in joy some gleam
Of heaven, and could some wondrous secret show
Did we but pay the love we owe,
And with a child’s undoubting wisdom look
On all these living pages of God’s book.”

Lowell.

THE colony was once more at peace. Spite of war and devastation, the opening of the goldfields and the flowing tide of immigration had expanded its resources and increased its wealth. The European population, acknowledging the great services which Sir George Grey had rendered to the country, joined together in expressions of gratitude and of respect. Limited as his powers had been, beset with innumerable obstructions, he had, nevertheless, succeeded in steering the colony safely through another great crisis. He had preserved intact their privileges. He had vindicated their constitutional rights against the encroachments of his superiors.

• Their regrets were bitter, but unavailing. He had been appointed by the Crown, and by the Crown he had been superseded. All that the colonists could do was to express their sense of his worth and of the

generous and liberal conduct which, both in public and private life, had marked his career in New Zealand.

The whole attention of Sir George Grey had not been engrossed by his political and military cares. Among his correspondence during this period is a letter from Florence Nightingale, dated July, 1863, written on hearing that Sir George Grey was building a hospital, in which she said that every spare moment for two years past had been devoted to working up and reducing to a report statistics obtained from the Colonial Office as to the mortality of native races. Her sincere sympathy with and appreciation of his efforts were expressed in the words, "God bless you! I wish I could have helped you more. You will do a noble work in New Zealand."

In another paragraph she wrote, "You are nearly the only Governor, except the great Sir John Lawrence, who has condescended to qualify yourself by learning the languages, the physical habits, and the ethnological peculiarities of the races you had to govern."

She also prepared some exhaustive notes on the New Zealand depopulation question. "The introduction of *pigs* as an article of food, has been certainly one cause of evil. . . The pig is, of all animals, the decivilizer. Ireland and New Zealand both suffer under the incubus of pigs and potatoes." Summarising the diseases to which New Zealanders were peculiarly subject, Florence Nightingale dealt with each, showing that sanitary dwellings, proper clothing, wholesome food, active exercise, and more regard for personal cleanliness were needed to improve the health of the natives. In paragraph vii. she treated of education :—

"Uncivilized man cannot be dealt with in the same way as civilized man. Even here, education means

keeping a certain number of children a great part of each day in a close room—cramming them and exciting them with formulæ.

“Clever bread-winning, stunted growth, high mortality, are what *we* produce.

“But this system would be fatal to a race subjected to it for the first time.

“In their children it produces bad health, scrofula, consumption, and is, in reality, death with slow torture.”

“At home we find that as much (*or more*) is taught in three days as in six (or in six *half-days* as in six whole days), *the physical system being developed by exercise or work* in the other three days (or six half-days).”

“This is the clue to all proper school management, especially among the uncivilized.

“If a child’s brain is forced, whose father’s brain has been free, the child dies: children are killed by school discipline.

“In an aboriginal school there should be ample space, free ventilation, cheerfulness, half-time *at least* given to out-door work or play.” She goes on to say that greater care still must be taken when a change of religion is added to all the other great changes. “Without bodily activity, the best man among the converts will fall under disease, and thus become lost to the cause of Christianity.”

With all Sir George Grey’s genius for great plans and public reforms his influence was still more attributable to his rare power of individual sympathy. Without this a man may be a great leader and a successful ruler, but he can never awaken in the hearts of thousands of his fellow-men the affection of children for a father.

With children he was ever a favourite; but it must

be admitted that he was too indulgent to them. The little tyrants soon found out their power, and the ruler of great colonies, the man who had issued his commands in opposition to the Imperial Government and been obeyed, was often a slave to a child's whims, and helpless when confronted by a lisping "I don't want to."

The Governor had a soft spot in his heart for the little brown-skinned native children. For their sake he established schools, and gave special treats and privileges. He delighted to see them in hearty enjoyment of their sports. When it was impossible to benefit them on a large scale, he chose the most promising as recipients of his gifts.

In this way he selected three boys from Norfolk Island, and had them educated and trained as missionaries under the direction of the wise and good Bishop Patteson, who a few years later bravely met the death of a martyr. The following letter from the Bishop relates to his protégés :—

Kohimarama, March 6th, 1863.

My dear Sir George Grey,—I enclose three short notes from your three adopted Melanesian boys. They are lads in whom I am sure you will take a great interest, and I am equally sure that they understand your kindness to them, and the object you have in view in helping them. I need not say how much I thank you. This is precisely the way in which help can be most usefully given to us, and your example may be followed by others.

All struggling authors, poets, and artists wrote to Sir George Grey asking his advice and assistance. He was never too busy to help and encourage real merit. To foster literature was one of his chief aims. The standard work on New Zealand, written by Dr. Hochstetter, owes its origin indirectly to Governor Grey. The author had been the guest of Sir George

for some time, in the colony, and was ever ready to declare his grateful sense of the kindness and assistance which he had received. The following simple letter gives utterance in Hochstetter's own words to the feelings by which he was influenced :—

To Sir George Grey,

Your Excellency,—After five years of labour I have now finished my publications of New Zealand to which your Excellency gave me the first instigation. . . .

May your Excellency accept my works with indulgence, and see in them only the effort to do my best towards extending the scientific knowledge of an English colony, whose population greeted me with the greatest hospitality, and by this to pay the tribute of gratitude which I not only owe to the English colonists but to England in general.

Believe me to remain with greatest esteem,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

PROF. DR. F. V. HOCHSTETTER.*

Dr. Ferd. Mueller, Curator of the Melbourne Botanical Gardens, carried on a long correspondence with Sir George Grey, evincing in all his letters the greatest admiration for the latter's varied achievements. In one he enclosed a letter from Prof. Rafn, Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians, written from Copenhagen in November, 1862, asking him to forward to Sir George Grey various interesting papers connected with the founding, history, and proceedings of the Society, and intimating that they should consider it an honour to elect Sir George as one of the Fellows of the R.S.N.A. Society. Sir Henry Barkly wished to propose Sir George "as pre-eminent for rank and learning" to this position. The friendship between Dr. Mueller

* Letter from Dr. Ferdinand von Hochstetter, Vienna, Sept. 20th, 1865.

and Sir George Grey was marked by a continuous interchange of plants and animals, and of information concerning them. Sir George having sent him a sample of New Zealand flax, Dr. Mueller manufactured it into paper, which he sent to Sir George on Christmas Day, 1866. The letter accompanying this specimen was published for public information by the New Zealand Government.

After the arrival of Sir George Bowen, and his assumption of the Government on the 9th of February, 1868, Sir George Grey retired to the island of Kawau. He resided there for several months, and then returned to England in the New Zealand spring and English autumn.

Book the Seventh.

*SIR GEORGE GREY ENGAGES IN ENGLISH POLITICS.
CRITICISM OF THE COLONIAL DEPARTMENT,
1868-1870.*

CHAPTER XLIII.

NEW PRINCIPLE OF APPOINTING COLONIAL GOVERNORS.

“ His head
Not yet by time completely silvered o’er
Bespeaks him past the bounds of freakish youth,
But strong for service still, and unimpaired.”
Comper.

THE curt letter, in which the Duke of Buckingham in fact dismissed Sir George Grey from the public service, was well calculated to wound its receiver sorely. No regret was expressed, no approval of long and faithful service; no sympathy with the suffering which such a deliberate insult must inevitably cause.

The Governor was not greatly surprised. For more than twenty years he had refused to truckle to Downing Street and Pall Mall. Minister after Minister, both Liberal and Conservative, had chafed at his inflexible opposition and independent judgment. He had been threatened often—accused times without number. To his other faults this was added that the

threats could never be fulfilled, the accusations were always refuted.

The time was come, as the Colonial Office thought, when they could do without Grey. The transition period, as they believed, had passed. The colonies were fairly launched upon a safe course, and henceforth Governors might be found who depended not on strength of character, on wisdom and judgment, but whose claims to preferment rested on social rank and courtly manners.

There seems little doubt that Lord Carnarvon held Sir George Grey's despatch, so strongly animadverting on the position taken by Mr. Cardwell and General Cameron, as a direct act of mutiny. It was the bad fortune of Lord Carnarvon always to be drawn into antagonism to Sir George, and always to be compelled to feel that he was "a dangerous man."

Before proceeding to extreme steps Lord Carnarvon requested the Governor of New Zealand to withdraw this document. To this request Sir George gave an emphatic refusal. While the refusal was on its way to England Lord Carnarvon resigned, and the Colonial Office was handed over to the Duke of Buckingham. In May, 1869, His Grace acknowledged Sir George's letter. Correspondence most probably passed between the Duke and Lord Carnarvon, and the result was that in June the Duke informed the Governor that in a further despatch he would inform the Governor of the appointment of his successor, and the time of his arrival in the colony.

There was another reason which probably influenced the Imperial Government in their conduct at this time. Mr. Disraeli, in his ultra-aristocratic proclivities, had determined to confine the governorships of the great colonies to peers or the sons of peers. Henceforth the right to represent the Crown in the great depen-

dencies was to be a birthright. It was indispensable that a man chosen as governor should be "born in the purple." One exception only was to exist. To marry a peer's daughter was in some cases to confer the same right as noble birth. It was indeed urged by Mr. Disraeli and his friends that the colonists themselves desired this new departure.

One of the ills which colonies are heirs to arises from the success which attends so many of their early leaders. In new countries riches are oftentimes swiftly amassed. The sudden development of fresh sources of wealth, the opening of mines, the discovery and utilisation of pastoral countries and wide agricultural areas, with their attendant commerce, finance, and increased land values, have specially during this century raised a large class of colonial monied aristocracy. Of these considerable numbers return to the old country, and make strenuous efforts to penetrate the sacred circles of what is called "society." It thus happens that there is always in London an army of colonists, formidable both in numbers and financial power. Many of these are men who have occupied prominent positions in the political and social world in Australia, Canada, South Africa, or New Zealand. They have united to form associations, partly social, partly intellectual, and indirectly political in character. They are always present to the English public, and are certainly sufficiently self-assertive. But in reality they do not represent the public feeling of the colonies, nor are their views at all to be taken as an index of the state of public opinion there. Among them are men of undoubted ability, of unostentatious liberality, and high character; but there are also many who are vulgarly anxious to be—or at any rate to appear to be—on familiar terms with people of high position. Snobbishness is as much a weakness

among wealthy colonials as among fortunate tradesmen and the parvenu wealthy of the Mother Country? It is through such channels that, too often, English public men obtain distorted and contemptible ideas of colonial character.

It was probably from such sources that Mr. Disraeli received the impression that, in the sarcastic words of the *Saturday Review*, "the colonists particularly desire to be governed by the Porphyrogeniti."

In 1867 a new batch of Governors was appointed. Lord Belmore was sent to New South Wales, the Marquis of Normanby to Queensland, Sir George Bowen being sent to New Zealand from that colony, as he had not completed his term, and Lord Canterbury to Victoria. On the appointment of Lord Belmore, the new rule was openly canvassed. The *Saturday Review*, in a caustic article on that appointment, remarked, "Indeed it seems absurd to be called upon to notice the cool proposition that unless a man is born in the purple he is disqualified from representing the Sovereign in her colonial dependencies. This is an evidence of the intrepidity which presumes on the ignorance of the multitude." To this day, although some noticeable exceptions have from time to time occurred, the rule then established has been acted on, at least by the Conservative party. The most recent appointments carry it out fully. Lord Carrington and the Earls of Hopetoun, Onslow, Kintore, and Jersey have had the Australasian Colonies committed to their charge.

It is said that Lord Knutsford alleged that the colonies cared little or nothing for ability in their Governors, but regarded it as due to themselves that gentlemen of rank, wealth, and social qualifications should be appointed to represent the Queen, at any rate in the more important colonial possessions.

In the practical dismissal of the Governor of New Zealand, the Colonial Office accomplished two objects. It severed the connection with a Governor whom it cordially disliked, and it opened a place for some titled protégé under the new colonial regulations. Both reasons were understood and appreciated by Sir George. As regarded himself he felt that he was treated discourteously. As regarded the new rule for the qualification of future Governors, he felt that the efficiency of the public service would be impaired, a laudable ambition would be taken from a large number of men eager to serve their Queen and country, and an altogether false idea would henceforth govern the relations between Great Britain and her colonies, which might possibly lead to evil results. Sir George had long since arrived at the belief that complete freedom in self-government, to the full extent of selecting their own Governors, alone could enable the colonies to achieve the greatest results in happiness and usefulness.

Sir George Grey had, as we have seen, been promised by the Duke of Newcastle the government of Canada when his term had expired at the Cape of Good Hope, but he relinquished that expectation with the government of the latter colony as soon as it was fully determined that he should assume the government of New Zealand, at a time when the difficulties of administration called in an imperative manner for the ability and administrative capacity which he possessed. On his return to England, Grey applied to be reinstated at the Cape, and received answer from Lord Granville that his application had been noted. For twelve months he was kept in uncertainty and suspense, and when, urged by his friends, he applied for a pension, Lord Granville replied that it was not possible to give a pension to

any person who was not either sixty years old or incapable of discharging the duties of any public office.

Sir George then allowed the matter to drop, but writing in 1869 he said: "My situation has, however, been rendered by Lord Granville a hard one. I am as capable as I ever was of serving Her Majesty in a good climate, and I am liable at any moment until I am past sixty to be called on by the Secretary of State to serve Her Majesty until I am sixty-six. If I decline to do so, or do so negligently in the opinion of the Secretary of State, I forfeit all claim to pension. Until, therefore, I am past sixty, it is difficult for me to determine on any future plan of life. After a career of great activity I am thus plunged into a life of uncertainty, and without an object of any kind before me. . . . I feel that after thirty-three years of unusually severe service in the colonial department, and after the sacrifices, personal and pecuniary, which I have on several occasions made to meet the views of the Government, it was hard to condemn me to doubt and uncertainty of this kind, and the expense and discomfort which necessarily followed from it. Twenty-six years' service as Governor, and an intimate acquaintance with the customs of the colonial service, enable me to say that the course pursued towards me is in several respects harsh and unusual."

For a long period Sir George Grey waited and hoped for employment. His enforced idleness while he was waiting the pleasure of Lord Granville did not, in the opinion of many eminent men, evince much wisdom on the part of Ministers. Thus General Napier, an old college chum at Sandhurst, wrote to Sir George Grey in February, 1869: "What a pity they did not send you out to India, instead of Lord Mayo, where your talents would soon have had ample

scope, for matters appear to be coming to a crisis there on our north-western frontier." In December of the same year he wrote that Sir George was wanted again at the Cape, "as you are in two or three other colonies, to set things to rights." He then went on to say that he thought Ireland would be all the better for a share of Sir George Grey's government.

Patiently the great pro-Consul waited upon the pleasure of Lord Granville, refusing to believe that his proffered services would be declined. He was in full possession of mental and physical powers such as few men in a generation are permitted to enjoy. The quick activity of youth was indeed gone, but the ripe judgment of mature age, the enduring powers of a sound manhood, the vast experience of an eventful life, far more than made up for the bounding step or the enthusiastic hopes of bygone days. Not yet sixty years of age, unequalled in his power over savage races, and in his knowledge of practical colonization, he stood alone in the greatness of his views and plans, as well as in his boundless hopes for the future of the English people, and through them, for the nations of the earth. His mind, enriched by a thousand streams of knowledge and reason, instinct with masculine vigour, and guided by the noblest principles, was capable of great, almost unbounded usefulness. To him the Queen, her Ministers, Parliaments, and people had been often indebted. The lives of colonists, their property and safety had been by him conserved. The honour of the Empire had times without number been vindicated by him. No possible opportunity had ever presented itself in vain in which the glory of the Crown or the welfare of the subject could be increased; always successful in the field, always wise in the Council chamber; a leader in every good and worthy enterprise; a patron of

learning and the fine arts; a passionate devotee and teacher of science; a born ruler of nations, he was the very first of England's sons who claimed at once the gratitude of his country for foreign work well done, and the proofs of a solitary greatness in colonial government.

South Africa was then and for years after crying out for one hand and brain to guide her. That hand and brain were ready and anxious to take up a work so grateful, but the calm self-sufficiency of Lord Granville, and the prejudice and dislike of Lord Carnarvon, passed by, and relegated to the obscurity of private life, the one man who could have saved the Cape from the terrible disaster which threatened it. No greater political blunder was ever committed than that of which Lord Granville was here guilty, afterwards followed by Lord Carnarvon, in relation to Sir George Grey and the colonies of South Africa.

CHAPTER XLIV.

PROPOSED APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL GORDON AS MILITARY DICTATOR IN NEW ZEALAND.

“Whatever day
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.”
Pope's Odyssey.

THE news of the Maori outbreak, and especially of Te Kooti's massacre at Poverty Bay, alarmed and confounded the English Ministers. It seemed to them that all the expense and loss already suffered in New Zealand had been useless. The Horse Guards shared with the Colonial Office in the depression and anger excited by these unhappy tidings. So many brave men had been sacrificed by divided councils, so much irritation had been felt and such decided friction aroused between the Imperial and Colonial Governments through the exercise of dual authority, that Ministers contemplated the possible propriety of taking steps to suspend the Constitution of the Colony, and appoint a military Dictator with absolute power, in the hope of ending the Maori difficulty forthwith.

Sir Bartle Frere, then and afterwards a valued adviser, strongly pressed this plan upon them. He proposed that a large number of the Indian Police Force should be shipped to New Zealand, that the

Constitution should be temporarily suspended, and the ablest man obtainable placed in supreme power. Gordon, now lovingly remembered as "Khartoum Gordon," was, it was understood, to be invested with plenary powers of government. The Dictator was to make laws, to raise taxes, to call out the people as an armed militia, and generally to act as in the possession of despotic authority. Frere's suggestions were favourably considered. The propositions were reduced to writing, and the matter submitted to Ministers.

Before anything final was done it was decided to obtain Sir George Grey's advice and, if possible, his assent; it being understood that if that assent was refused, the plan should not be persevered in. It was felt that the step contemplated was of a most serious nature. A military officer in the confidence of Government was sent to acquaint the ex-Governor of New Zealand with the nature of the plan which was under consideration, and to obtain a full expression of his mind upon its merits, and his recommendation that it should be carried out. This gentleman bore with him a printed copy of the proposals. When he and Sir George Grey met, the project was fully explained.

The memorandum to be submitted to the Cabinet was produced and handed to Sir George. With his ample knowledge of the character and feelings of the New Zealand colonists and their high spirit, he saw at once that such a proceeding would be fatal to the good feeling existing between the mother country and the colony; and beyond the immediate effect of such an unprecedented course in the colony more immediately affected, Sir George felt certain that this arbitrary act would do more in one day to sever the colonies from England than all the efforts of the

economists could accomplish in twenty years. Their Constitution would be seen to be valueless, and held upon an absolutely uncertain tenure, terminable at the sudden caprice or mistaken judgment of any Minister. From the moment when he fully understood what it was the Government intended his mind was made up.

After discussion, Sir George pointed out that the matter was one of very grave moment, and that he was asked to take upon himself a responsibility which demanded serious consideration. Ultimately he opposed it on every ground. The alarm felt in London was unwarranted. The colonists were well able to deal with the disaffected natives if moderate assistance were afforded by the Imperial authorities. The New Zealanders were a bold and resolute community. They would resent such a sudden and uncalled for interference. Willing as they were to pay taxes levied, and engage in active service ordered by their own Parliament, they would object to both if exacted by a military Dictator. General Gordon's fitness for the position was freely admitted. If such a task were to be accomplished, no man would be so likely to do it successfully as Gordon. The colonists, however, would lose sight of the personal merits of the man in the contemplation of the gross wrong which they were compelled to suffer.

The results would be disadvantageous to England also. The colony would be irreparably offended. Public money would be spent without the authority of the Colonial Parliament, and New Zealand would not only hold England responsible for any loss which might be suffered by the settlers, but they would possibly refuse to pay the great charges to which the military chest would certainly be subjected. Finally he distinctly refused to sanction a course of conduct

which he believed to be a blunder, and which might possibly be called a crime.

Thus the negotiations closed. The Ministerial envoy went away disappointed. In the face of Sir George Grey's strong protest the matter dropped.

A copy of the paper containing the propositions for the Cabinet was left with Sir George Grey. It is still in existence.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE DISMEMBERMENT CRAZE.

“ A thousand years scarce serve to form a State :
An hour may lay it in the dust.”

Byron.

SIR GEORGE GREY landed in England just prior to the elections. Within a few days of his arrival the Duke of Buckingham called upon him and apologised for the substance and manner of his despatch. The Duke's words as well as his demeanour convinced the ex-Governor that the regrets expressed were sincere and cordial. As Lord Derby had ten years before doubted the wisdom of his recall from the Cape, so now the Duke of Buckingham spared no pains to assure him of the high esteem felt by Ministers for himself personally, and their admiration for his services to the Crown. His Grace supplemented the interview with a most kind and courteous letter.

To show the reality of their esteem Mr. Disraeli proposed to put Sir George into the House of Commons for Nottingham, and a formal offer of that seat was made to him. Without hesitation the offer was courteously declined. Many years before, Disraeli, at the commencement of his political life, had asked O'Connell for a seat, even if for a Radical constituency. The great agitator refused, and the seed of hatred was sown between them which bore such

bitter fruit in after years. No like result happened between Disraeli and Grey, although the refusal on Grey's part conveyed a clear intimation to the Conservative leaders that he would oppose them in politics.

Lord Granville succeeded the Duke of Buckingham as Secretary for the Colonies, when the Liberals came into power on December 10, 1868, Mr. Disraeli having resigned on the 9th. Sir George Grey was staying on a visit to the Queen at Windsor at the time when Mr. Disraeli came there to resign. Between the new Secretary and Sir George there were not the most friendly feelings: probably Grey's resolute action against Mr. Cardwell may have influenced Mr. Cardwell's colleague. In a short time other and more serious matters of dispute arose.

During his Governorship of the Cape Sir George had ventured to draw up a series of rules to regulate the respective administrative positions of the civil and military authorities. These had been adopted by the Imperial Government, and were found to work well. In New Zealand Sir George found that General Cameron had disregarded several instructions from the War Office, which directed him, as the officer commanding the forces, to obtain under certain circumstances the assistance and consent of the Governor. On one point especially the mind of the Governor was strongly moved.

In all military matters which form the subject of a general court-martial, especially where the penalty for crime is death, the Judge-Advocate-General has to advise the Crown before any sentence is carried into execution. In such cases the Crown looks for assistance, not to any of the principal Secretaries of State, but to the Judge-Advocate-General.

When troops are upon foreign or colonial service

in distant parts of the world it would be at once useless and impracticable to transmit the proceedings to England. The custom, therefore, grew up of carrying out, on the authority of the officer commanding, sentence of death when recorded by a competent Court of General Court-Martial. In this way in a colony prisoners were put to death without the Queen's intervention, and without the knowledge of her representative.

To this plan Sir George Grey stoutly demurred. His remonstrances were attended to. Orders were issued from the War Office that in all such cases the papers were to be transmitted to the Governor, and in the absence of the Queen her representative was to authorise the punishment. To Sir George's surprise and dismay he found that this order among others had been disobeyed. He again complained, and requested that as Sir Trevor Chute, who succeeded General Cameron, had broken the rule laid down, it should be formally republished, and strictly enforced, so as to attract the attention of military commanders. The Home Government refused. In England Sir George waited upon Lord Granville, and repeated his request. His lordship again refused. The discussion led to a serious difference between them.

"Sir Boyle Roche is reported to have said on one occasion, "Single misfortunes never come alone, and the greatest of all possible human disasters is usually followed by a much greater." Without impeaching or indorsing the logic of the Irish legislator's "bull" it is certainly true that frequently one difficulty seems to prepare the way for another. It was so between Lord Granville and Sir George Grey.

In the ten years which had elapsed since his recall by Sir E. B. Lytton, the dismemberment craze had spread far and wide. Some indeed among the lead-

ing intellects of England were awaking to the danger which threatened her greatness from this direction, but Mr. Goldwin Smith and his friends and admirers, who comprised most of the leaders of the Liberal party, had persuaded a large portion of the talking and writing public that it would be far better for England to cast off the colonies altogether.

The idea was to keep a powerful navy in the narrow seas, to form a strong and elastic military force within the four shores of Britain, to isolate England from all outward interests and complications, and then to turn the once "Merrie England" into a vast workshop, from whose looms and forges the markets of the world might be supplied. For this result the greatness of Britain was to be bartered, her diadem broken, her influence for good among the nations of the earth for ever lost. For this ignoble end the manifest destiny of the English race, so far as England was concerned, was to fail in its accomplishment, and her light was to go out for ever. In twenty years the dream would have been rudely dissipated. Foreign competition would have pressed far more heavily than it now does upon English manufactures; the colonial markets ever expanding, the colonial lands ever open to the great stream of British immigrants, would have been the heritage of alien nations. Discontent and want coming like an armed man; hopelessness within, and contempt and insolence without, would have been the fruit of this gospel of greed. All was to be abandoned, even India.

"It is difficult to believe that any sane man, not utterly ignorant, could meditate the abandonment of those mighty territories, that world-wide empire, which is England's present glory, and the guarantee of her future greatness and safety. The next generation will scarcely credit the statement that the influence of the

teachers of a selfish political economy was so great in the United Kingdom that they had obtained the tacit consent of all political parties to the disruption and desertion of the whole outside Empire. They had no mercy. From the ancient kingdom of the Moguls to New Zealand, from Canada to Hongkong, all were to be abandoned. Lands won by the sword, lands ceded by treaty, lands obtained by occupation, all were to share the same fate. The fruits of a hundred victories, in which on land and sea the blood of our best and bravest had been shed like water, were to be given up and sacrificed at the shrine of mammon. The labours and sufferings of centuries were to be forgotten or only remembered as a dream. The graves of sainted martyrs and of gallant warriors were to be deserted. Cities as great as the capitals of Europe ; a commerce vaster in extent as it was greater in value than that of any nation, ancient or modern, save of the United Empire of which it formed a part—all were to be voluntarily abandoned. The red cross of Britain was no longer to float proudly in widely-sundered lands. A sentence of eternal banishment was decreed against the millions of colonists who, going forth in full love and allegiance to the Queen of their people and the country of their birth, had crossed the sea or the trackless desert, and made their dwelling in the wilderness, carrying with them to their new homes the boon of freedom, race, and country which is the heritage of every Briton. The beat of the morning drum around the world was to be silenced. The sun was to set upon Britain's Empire. No such act of national suicide was ever contemplated by the leaders of any people. Had they succeeded—and it is beyond question that they had arrived, to use Mr. Gladstone's phrase, within 'measurable distance' of success, and already in South Africa commenced to dismember the

British Empire—to what a future of misery and peril would they have doomed the British Crown and the British people! It is impossible to contemplate their purpose without indignation or their plans without contempt. ‘The colonies cost England money.’ This was their cry. Cut off the colonies. Let them shift for themselves. Everything is to the economists and the Manchester school to be measured by money. Even to the day of his death Mr. Bright ridiculed the idea of a federated Empire.” *

Against this policy of national suicide Sir George Grey took an immediate and absolute stand. He spoke, he wrote, he held public meetings, and framed petitions to the Crown. He knew that by so doing he would forfeit assistance from the Liberal party, but he did not for a moment hesitate. His vigour and determination in this direction could hardly fail to impress Lord Granville with a sense of personal antagonism.

Scarcely inferior in importance in Sir George Grey’s mind to the retention of the colonies was the question of emigration. The population of Great Britain was rapidly increasing. Her agricultural labourers were leaving the fields of the country and flocking into towns, or engaging in mining or other industries. To provide a safe and sufficient outlet for the increasing multitudes in the Colonial Empire was, in his opinion, an absolute necessity if a revolution of hunger and want was to be avoided. This also ran counter to the ideas of the Liberals. Only a few years before, when the American civil war had shut up the cotton mills, and thrown hundreds of thousands out of employment, the merchants and manufacturers of Cottonopolis had protested against a system of State-aided

* “From Poverty to Plenty.” W. L. Rees, 1st edition. p. 159. Wyman and Sons, 1888.

emigration. The employers of labour could not spare so many "human machines." To this question Sir George directed his eloquence and zeal. He strove with all his might to rouse a public feeling in favour of colonisation, for he saw in this the only safety for the future of England, and the only avenue to happiness for her innumerable children.

In his writings and speeches he pointed out that the course of British colonisation and acquisition of new territory had flowed in many channels. In the early days it had assumed the form of charters and monopolies granted to individual subjects or to companies of so-called "adventurers," entitling them to great territories of unoccupied lands beyond the seas. Then it had taken the form of the transportation of political prisoners and criminals to the American plantations and finally to Australia. Then it had shaped itself into a method of endowing the State Church with vast areas of waste lands in all the great dependencies of the Empire. Then the bestowal of whole regions upon associations of the wealthy and the offshoots of noble families, on such terms as would enable them to raise a landed aristocracy in these new worlds, and provide them with cheap labour. Then it had conquered and acquired whole regions in order to advance and stimulate commerce so that merchant princes and manufacturers might build up huge fortunes. Thus the aid of the Government had been given to the aristocracy, to the Church, and merchants, manufacturers, financiers, monopolists and the middle classes generally.

Even the wretched convicts had received to some extent the assistance of the State, although no doubt the primary intention was to rid the United Kingdom of the danger and expense attendant upon the existence of a race of criminals within its boundaries. To

one class only had the Government afforded no assistance. But that was the most numerous class of all. In the whole record of colonisation no effort had ever been made to help the industrious poor, the labouring classes, to settle upon the waste lands of the Crown beyond the seas.

It was to this that Sir George Grey now wished to draw attention and assistance. Reason, humanity, expediency, righteousness, all lent their aid to increase the force of his arguments.

He proposed that the counties and parishes should become owners of large tracts of territory in the different colonies, that they should settle upon these great estates the redundant labouring population from their respective localities, advancing all monies necessary, and making such monies charges upon the properties of the various emigrants so assisted. By this process not only would the poor rates be lessened by reason of the stoppage of the streams which fed the work-houses, and in some instances the gaols; but waste lands of great extent belonging to the local bodies at home would yearly increase in value by the settlement of population, and would ultimately not merely provide an outlet for the surplus numbers, especially the youth of both sexes, but would yield a revenue and harvests of various commodities sufficient to maintain within Great Britain the weak, the feeble, and the aged, without their being a burden upon the local funds.

Had his proposal been favourably entertained and become the subject of legislation, the people of Great Britain would have been in a different state to-day to that which they now occupy.

Upon these two kindred subjects he travelled through England, holding public meetings and addressing crowded audiences. A monster meeting was

held at the Lambeth Baths, in London, and petitions were signed by over one hundred thousand people in favour of colonisation and against the abandonment of the colonies. Nor was he alone in this noble and patriotic movement. A number of influential men formed themselves into a committee to watch and guard against the disruption of the Empire. The following letter from Mr. Froude to Sir George Grey tells its own tale :—

My dear Sir,—Lord Salisbury tells me that Lord Carnarvon means to take up the subject in the approaching session. Lord S. himself, however, is desponding, and confirms the impression which I have received from other quarters that the Conservative party in the House of Commons is not to be relied on.

The hope is that on both sides of the House there is still a patriotic section. Enough may be done now to keep the Economists in check. Hereafter we may see a fresh organisation, and the old Imperial temper revive.

If mischief can be prevented meanwhile, this will be the happiest result. The Tories, if they moved now, would do it only as a party dodge, and rather discredit than further a nobler line of policy.

Lord R. has remonstrated earnestly with the Government *in private*. You will have seen Mr. Forster's speech at Bradford.—Faithfully yours,

J. A. FROUDE.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE NEWARK ELECTION.

" 'Tis was no common party race
Jostling by dark intrigue for place." *
Marmion.

“Who in his mightiest hour
A bauble held the lust of power,
Spurned at the sordid lust of pelf,
And served his Albion for herself.”
Ibid.

UPON another subject then attracting considerable attention in England Sir George Grey felt deeply. The elections of 1868 had been decided by a large majority in Mr. Gladstone's favour on his famous declaration that "the time was come for the disestablishment of the Irish Church." The need for reform in Ireland had made itself felt throughout Great Britain, and when Parliament met on December 10th under the ministry of Mr. Gladstone, they had a majority in the Commons of over one hundred.

Sir George Grey had never forgotten the misery which he beheld in that unhappy land nearly fifty years before. He had never relinquished the purpose then formed of attempting to relieve that misery and to induce such government and circumstances as would gradually heal the wounds which had been inflicted during many centuries of misgovernment, and give to the impulsive children of the Emerald

Isle a fair opportunity for a happy and brilliant future.

With these great principles prompting him to action, and being unable to obtain employment in the colonies from Earl Granville, he determined, if possible, to enter Parliament, and there gather around him a party which should be pledged to carry out these plans.

In March, 1870, a writ was issued for Newark, which seat had been rendered vacant by the lamented death of the good and gentle Denison. He entered vigorously upon his electoral campaign. Sir Henry Storks was contesting the seat, backed by all the force and influence which Mr. Gladstone could bring to bear. Sir George remonstrated strongly with Mr. Gladstone, as he himself was a strong supporter of the Liberal party. His remonstrances were unavailing. The great Liberal leader sent a letter to Sir George Grey by Mr. Stanhope full of eulogiums of his opponent, and stating the unqualified hope that the Liberals would vote for Sir Henry Storks in the coming election. This strange letter closed with the following remarkable paragraph: "I have sent a copy of this letter to Sir Henry Storks, with permission to him to make use of it in any way."

In truth, matters between Sir George Grey and the Liberal leaders had by this time come to a crisis. On March 27th of the previous year he had published a letter in the *Daily News* on the position of the agricultural labourers in Ireland, and the influence of that condition upon the welfare of the poor in England, which had created a painful sensation. In this letter, after commenting upon the history of the estate of Farney, in the county of Monaghan, and showing from it the terrible condition to which the Irish people had been reduced, and the successive steps by which

that condition had been brought out, he urged that, in the interests of the nation and of humanity, it was the duty of Parliament at once to institute remedial measures of a drastic character. This letter, in conjunction with Sir George Grey's other utterances, alarmed Ministers, who were already well aware of his extreme views upon the consolidation of the Empire and the importance of emigration.

On the 7th of October, 1869, Earl Granville, as Secretary for the Colonies, wrote a despatch upon the subject of the withdrawal of troops from New Zealand, which drew a further expression of opinion from Sir George Grey. As this matter is of the very greatest importance, not merely as giving evidence of the relations between Sir George Grey and Lord Granville, but as the practical commencement of the Home Rule movement, it is proper to place it in full before the public. It is headed "The Irish Land Question." The following is its text:—

A despatch from Earl Granville, dated the 7th inst, which raises very grave questions, has induced me to re-publish a letter I wrote upon the state of Ireland, which was printed in the *Daily News* of the 27th of last month.

Earl Granville has in that despatch stated in telling language some general views of the highest possible importance, and capable of the widest application. Although he there applies the solely to the case of New Zealand, their utter inapplicability to the state of that country, and other causes, must insure the ulterior object being gained of ascertaining with what degree of favour the opinions expressed will be regarded by the public of Great Britain, and to what extent they will desire to see them applied in Ireland, and in other parts of these islands.

The general principles laid down by Lord Granville as the basis for his subsequent arguments may be stated as follows:—

That there is a part of the Queen's dominions in which it is manifest that the deep and wide-spread discontent which there exists arises mainly from the lands of the original owners having been confiscated. That it is the opinion of the Government that

in such a country the larger and more generally operating incitement to rebellion is the hope of recovering land and status, while it finds that the restoration of the large extent of land originally confiscated is often unequivocally put forward by the inhabitants of such a country as a condition necessary to ensure their pacification.

The Government has further remarked that an independent people very unwillingly see their nationality pass from them, and not unnaturally long for some recognition of their national authority:

Lord Granville then observes that the causes above alluded to being the real sources of great dangers to which the country he alludes to is exposed from its inhabitants, it is evident to Her Majesty's Government that the task of continually keeping down the people of such a country by military force is beyond the strength of the Empire. This is conclusively shown by the experience of many years past, during which time, in the island spoken of, a strong local force has always had the assistance of a large body of regular troops; yet such is its present state that the discontented amongst its inhabitants suffice to impose a ruinous insecurity on a large number of landholders, and a ruinous expenditure on the local and British treasury.

In such a case large concessions are, from the causes above stated, unavoidable to appease a pervading discontent with which it is otherwise difficult to cope, and still larger concessions will be necessary to insure the respect of the inhabitants of the country when the large reductions contemplated in our military expenditure have been carried out.

It is then stated that in the case of the island alluded to the abandonment of the confiscated lands to its people, the recognition of a national Government, and the maintenance of larger and expensive local forces, however indispensable some or all of them may be, are remedies which would be distasteful to many people, and which will not be resorted to so long as they continue to expect assistance from British troops. A decision, therefore, to maintain the past and present policy would be injurious to the people of the country, as tending to delay the adoption of those prudent counsels on which its restoration depends.

These remarks are not made in any spirit of controversy. Lord Granville would not gratuitously have criticised the proceedings of another Government, but a case has arisen in which Her Majesty's present Government is asked for assistance—it is asked for assistance to sustain a policy which it does not choose to assist, and is not able to foresee.

Upon such a state of facts many questions arise, and among them it becomes material to enquire whether the assistance expected by a portion of the people is for the real advantage of those who seek it. Earl Granville, in judging from the best materials at his command, is satisfied that it is not so, and that it is not the part of a true friend of the inhabitants, by continuing a delusive support, to divert their attention from that course in which their safety lies—the course of deliberately measuring their own resources, and, at whatever immediate sacrifice, adjusting their policy to them.

It is not without a full sense of the responsibility which attaches to Her Majesty's Government in deciding on such an important question, nor without a firm belief that they are discharging that responsibility in a manner most conducive to the interests of the country, that they have determined to carry out the line of policy pointed out in Earl Granville's despatch.

Such are the undoubted general truths which had been put forward by Earl Granville in reference to New Zealand alone. I cannot but hope that in writing them he must have thought of Ireland, that country which at the present moment engages so largely the attention of Her Majesty's Government and of all thoughtful minds, for it is hardly possible for language more truly and accurately to describe the state of Ireland than the language used by Lord Granville, yet it could easily be shown that his language has little or no true reference to the state of New Zealand.

The measures and principles inculcated by such high authority may, therefore, be probably meant for the wide scope which they legitimately embrace. Are they intended, then, to be bounded in their application to Ireland? or are they intended to be extended also to England, where such vast tracts of Church land, once the undoubted heritage of the poor of this country, and so great an extent of public land, once the heritage of the entire nation, have been confiscated for the use of private persons? In both these countries it has been seen that from the confiscations made a small number of persons have been constantly, yet rapidly, growing into inordinate wealth, whilst the number of landholders has been rapidly diminishing, and the mass of the nation is sinking into helpless and indescribable misery, which the heart sickens in contemplating, and the eye grows sad and weary in looking on.

Lord Granville truly states that the content of a people and the strength of an empire would be vastly augmented by large concessions in the direction which he has traced out, and that still larger

concessions would insure the respect of a people, even if very great reductions in the military expenditure were carried out.

It is possible that the Government, carrying one degree farther the ideas they have expressed in reference to the more distant colonial possessions of Great Britain, may have thought that in the case of Ireland it is wrong that the miseries and poverty of the productive classes in England should be augmented by their being heavily taxed, to pay for the maintenance of a large military force in Ireland, to prolong the wretchedness of that country. The people of England and Ireland have all interests in common. It is only those who have self-interested views to advance who strive to make them enemies. In Lord Granville's words: "It is not the part of a true friend of the inhabitants of such countries, by continuing a delusive shadow of support, to divert their attention from that course in which their true safety lies—the course of deliberately measuring their own resources, and, at whatever immediate sacrifice, adjusting their policy to them."

To show how truly Lord Granville's description applies to the state of Ireland, I now proceed to reprint my letter on the 27th of March last.

Then followed a transcript of the letter on the agricultural labourers in Ireland already alluded to as having been published in the *Daily News* of March 27th. At the conclusion of the letter, Sir George added the following remarks:—

In conclusion, I would now say, let Her Majesty's Ministers fairly apply, so far as they are applicable, their own principles to Ireland, to a country close to them, regarding which they have complete knowledge, instead of a distant dependency of the Crown regarding which they know nothing. Here, before them, in their presence, they have a misery, a wretchedness, which is a disgrace to mankind and to civilisation. All future times will look with wonder on statesmen who could speak as some of the present Government have spoken, or who could write as Earl Granville has written, if whilst in the very presence of want, and woe, and ignorance, exceeding, in some respects, the want, and woe, and ignorance of barbarism, they hesitate to act; or who, whilst looking at a deep and wide-spread discontent, frequently almost approaching to revolt, and who, seeing under such circumstances that in one island the discontented amongst its inhabi-

taunts suffice to impose a ruinous insecurity on a large number of landholders, and a ruinous expenditure on the public treasury, should yet hesitate to use the powers they hold to put an end to such a state of things.

I would suggest one mode in which I believe they might most beneficially apply in part their own principles to Ireland without delay. Let them at once give to that country a State Legislature, sitting in Dublin, composed of two elective Houses—a House of Representatives and a Senate, and having the same legislative powers as a State Legislature in the United States of America. Let them leave in the British Parliament the Irish members as at present, but without power to speak or vote upon any such question as the State Legislature sitting in Dublin is competent to legislate upon. In this manner the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland sitting in London would have the power of settling all Imperial questions, such as the strength of the army and navy, customs duties, postal service, etc., etc. The State Legislature sitting in Dublin would have the power of dealing with all local questions, such as the Land Question, Education, etc., etc.

Many advantages would spring from such an arrangement, such as Irish members no longer interfering in English domestic affairs, and English members no longer interfering in Irish domestic affairs. The domestic affairs of each of the two countries would then be conducted far more with a view to the welfare of the inhabitants of each than to the passions of party warfare and to the desire of making or pulling down Ministries.

It should also be remembered that the union of several Parliaments in one, charged with the duty of minute special legislation upon so many points in different countries, has thrown upon that one Parliament an amount of labour which it cannot perform. Hence its attention is distracted from its really important duties. Each determined party can force its own job through a distracted and bewildered Assembly. Matters of the highest interest are neglected. All legislation is crude and unsatisfactory, and little or no explanation can be asked or afforded regarding the expenditure of the public funds, which are often squandered at the caprice of the party in power for the time. Whilst confused Ministers frequently, indeed generally, new to their different offices, occupied with their duties in the Cabinet, in leading the two Houses of the Legislature, and torn and worn by the enormous mass of duties of every kind thrown upon them in their respective offices, from the most important to the most trifling, in their efforts to attend to all, are forced to neglect all, and the Government of

the country has fallen into the hands of irresponsible clerks in the different offices, who care nothing for ruining Ministries, or individual statesmen, if they promote views of their own, or advance the interests of their relations or friends. Hence is arising a disorder and an insubordination in the Empire such as has never before been seen.

Mr. Disraeli must have felt the necessity of some such arrangement for Ireland as I have proposed when he made his speech on returning thanks at his last election. He then said :—

“ I admit that there is a certain degree of morbid discontent permanently in Ireland. But you must look a little to the race, and probably that will account for it. The Irishman is a very imaginative being, and he lives in an island with a damp climate, and contiguous to a melancholy ocean. With extraordinary talents he has no variety of pursuits open to him. There is no nation in the world leading such monotonous lives as the Irish, because they have only the cultivation of the soil before them. Men are discontented when they are not occupied. But put an Irishman in a country where there is a fair field for his talents in a variety of occupations, and you will see the Irishman not only equal, but superior to most races.”

In the latter half of this quotation lies its main truth. Give to Ireland a State Legislature and a State Executive in Dublin ; secure thereby the residence of its ablest men in the country. Open a fair field, as ministers, legislators, orators, to its best and wisest men. Afford from the same source, as would necessarily and certainly be done, occupation to Irish architects, sculptors, painters, and secure a resident aristocracy, of worth, talent, and wisdom, and you will at the same time restore the wealth, trade, and commerce of Dublin and Ireland. Dumb Ireland will then speak again. Half inanimate Ireland will again awaken to national life, and breathe the breath of hope and freedom ; whilst by again accustoming the Irish people to the management of their own affairs, and to administrative duties of the highest order, a willing people will be educated in that political knowledge which will enable them to put an end to the ills which afflict them, the causes and cure of which none can understand so well as themselves.

Only those who have lived in populations accustomed to manage their own affairs can realise the dignity under such circumstances imparted to the mass of the people. The highest education in earthly matters that can be given to man is that education which trains him to consider his duties, position, and rights as a citizen

of a corporate community ; to reflect on his duties to others, and their corresponding duties to himself ; upon the effect which every existing law or new measure may have upon the community of which he is a member, and upon his own interests ; to exercise that self-restraint and generous courtesy even to the meanest, which is necessary to secure the affection and regard of those who have not only a free voice in the choice of men who are to direct affairs, but who, from knowledge and position, have gained the political knowledge necessary to form a sound opinion upon the value or worthlessness of measures proposed to them. To give such power and consequently such knowledge to a people is a really conservative step in the right direction.

All this can be done for Ireland without taking from England any power she wants, or which can be of the least use to her ; and if Her Majesty's Government really hold to the principles laid down, and so earnestly insisted upon, by Earl Granville, there is reason to hope that they will at once do something in this direction for suffering Ireland.

And what they do for Ireland will be equally done for the trade and commerce of England. It is impossible to benefit one country without benefiting at the same time the other. The miseries of Ireland now hang like a millstone round the neck of England. Restore Ireland to contentment, prosperity, political knowledge, hope in the future, and England will receive an impetus which will impel her onwards to a course of commerce, greatness, and happiness far surpassing anything which she has yet been able to achieve. Raise the condition of the Irish labourer, render necessary to him the food, the clothing, the dwellings, the comforts which the very lowest order of civilisation requires, and you will save the English labourer and the English working man from that cruel competition which is ruining and deteriorating the nation.

The wonderful skill with which Sir George had applied the whole reasoning used by Earl Granville in the case of New Zealand to the case of Ireland appears in every paragraph. His arguments are luminous, complete, and conclusive. No illustration more apposite, no logic more convincing, is to be found in the whole range of literature upon this much-disputed subject than are contained in the few pages of this pamphlet:

At the end of the pamphlet Sir George gives a draft of a proposed enactment—

AN ACT TO GRANT A PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT TO THE
KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

Whereas, large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects, natives of the Kingdom of Ireland, have from time to time rendered most important military and naval services to the Crown and Empire, and have shown their capacity for Government by administering with great ability the Governments; or conducting the affairs of the Legislatures of many of Her Majesty's Colonial possessions, and whereas it is desirable to foster and restore the commerce and trade of the said Kingdom, and to encourage the residence therein of proprietors of land and others, and to open a field for the development of the talent, and patriotism of its inhabitants which does not now exist, and to restore contentment and prosperity to its people, by allowing them to exercise that control over the management of their local affairs, without the possession of which no nation can be either contented, prudent, or prosperous.

Be it therefore enacted, by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows:—

There shall be within the Kingdom of Ireland a Provincial Parliament to consist of a Viceroy, a Senate, and a House of Representatives.

The pamphlet closes with the following words:—"I have here suggested this one mode in which immediate effect could be given in part to the principles put forth by Lord Granville; but it is evident that other and most important modes of giving speedy relief to Ireland could be also suggested. Into some of these I hope to inquire at a future time."

The pamphlet was published about the end of October, 1869. It is the first definite and practicable proposition ever made for the local self-government of Ireland.

No form so simple has ever since been submitted to

the public. No plan so efficacious has been elaborated through the long course of the argument. Perhaps no mind in the world had thought out the question of local self-government so deeply as that of Sir George Grey. He had devoted years of study to the subject, which he believed to be of primary importance. His Constitution for New Zealand had been admitted by thinking men to be well-nigh perfect; and though shorn of its fair dimensions in its application to that colony, had been almost completely adopted upon the vast theatre of the Dominion of Canada.

He was convinced that that which proved so great a boon to Antipodean nations would be equally full of blessing to the unhappy land which lay, as it were, within rifle-shot of Westminster. Like many of his other plans, this was far in advance of the intelligence of the time. Twenty years of strife and sorrow and oppression have not been sufficient to bring public opinion to the plane from which Sir George Grey then viewed the Irish question.

His two friends, Carlyle and Froude, equally differed from him in opinion on this subject at the first. Both wrote against it. The arguments used by Grey converted Carlyle completely, but Mr. Froude to this day seems to retain his old opinion.

The effect upon Lord Granville of this sudden demand of "Home Rule for Ireland" was instantaneous and remarkable. He attacked Sir George Grey violently in a speech in the House of Lords, and made no secret of the angry feelings aroused within him by this last act of his seemingly determined antagonist. Nor were Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright far behind their colleagues in their feelings of hostility to Sir George Grey. He became to them what Lord Carnarvon had long since pronounced him to be, in his opinion, "a dangerous man."

It was therefore felt that the contest at Newark was a contest, not between Liberals and Conservatives, but a contest between Sir George Grey—representing the extremest views upon the questions of the Colonial Empire, of Emigration, of Home Rule for Ireland, and the cause of the English poor—against all other political parties and all other political shibboleths huddled together.

The following manifesto was issued by Sir George Grey to the electors of Newark :—

To the Independent Electors of the Borough of Newark.

Gentlemen,—I offer myself as a candidate for the honour of being your representative in Parliament. I appear before you, not as the nominee of any section or party, but as an independent Liberal candidate. I promise to support, not merely a Liberal Government, but Liberalism in its truest, widest, and noblest sense. I desire to obtain the distinction which you can confer, from a wish to serve my country, by promoting measures calculated to foster and advance the morality, welfare, and commerce of this vast empire. As one to whom Her Majesty has repeatedly confided the important task of governing great dependencies, I take a great interest in Imperial questions. I am opposed to the views of those who advocate the severance of the colonies from Great Britain, believing that they add to her strength, wealth, and glory. In accordance with these opinions, I have striven to initiate a policy of emigration, by which, if conducted under proper conditions, our colonies would be regarded as the natural outlet for our excessive population, and instead of being looked upon as places of exile would be considered—what in truth they are—a home and heritage for the people of England. Equitable measures can also be adopted for reclaiming the waste lands of this country, thus establishing throughout the Empire the great remedial principle of “waste labour to waste lands.” So strongly do I feel upon the question of the introduction of the ballot, that I should strive to prevent any further postponement of its adoption. I am in favour of a system of free education for the people, so devised as assuredly to reach every home in the country. I may point to many public efforts which I have made to promote the welfare of the working men of Great Britain as a proof that their

On the day following Mr. Stanhope, who, as before stated, had been sent down specially by Mr. Gladstone, brought with him from a valued friend and relative of Sir George, the following letter :—

Charing Cross,

March 28th, 1870.

Dear Sir George,—The bearer of this is Mr. Stanhope, a Herefordshire man and a friend of mine. He wants a letter of introduction to you. The Government are, of course, anxious to get Storks into the House, so I hope you will not let in a Tory between ; Believe me, very truly yours,

M. BIDDULPH.

The next day Carlyle wrote to him thus :—

5, Cheyne Row, Chelsea,

March 30th, 1870.

Dear Sir George,—Having had for the last half-century these notions about emigration, and believing now, in the days which have come upon us, both that the question of emigration is the most important of all others for this nation, and that you of all men are the man to urge and guide it towards a successful issue, I need not say whether or not I wish you success at Newark against all comers.—Yours sincerely,

T. CARLYLE.

His decision had now come, the excitement among the few initiated reached its height. Carlyle, unable to conceal the earnestness of his hope, sent the following as a last and final message :—

• Chelsea, April 1st, 1870.

Dear Sir George,—Send me with your first moment of leisure, one word of tidings ; as soon as the result comes, do at least let me have that at once. I see no *newspapers* almost never, and am more interested in this one membership (as matters have come to stand) than in all the other 657.—Hoping good news, yours very truly,

T. CARLYLE,

To this note might be applied Longfellow's verse :—

“ This was the peasant's last good night,
A voice replied far up the height,
Excelsior ! ”

The election, so far as Sir George Grey was concerned, never took place. Determined that Sir George Grey should not succeed in Newark, although, if he persevered, Sir Henry Storks was certain to be beaten, the Government kept their man upon the lists. Pressed upon many quarters not to sacrifice a Liberal seat, and seeing that with the Liberal votes divided, both must fail, Sir George agreed to an arrangement. Sir Henry Storks and he himself both withdrew, and another Liberal was put forward. The plan succeeded, and the Government candidate was returned.

CHAPTER XLVII.

FAREWELL TO ENGLAND.

" Farewell ! a word that must be, and hath been—
A sound that makes us linger : yet—Farewell ! "

Byron.

THE Newark election convinced Sir George Grey that his plans were distasteful to the Liberal leaders. His own health was affected, and the worry and strain of the last eighteen months, combined with the rigour of the English climate, had affected him considerably. He began to long for the clear skies and the balmy atmosphere of his island home in the Pacific. He believed also that reforms in Britain might be accomplished from the Colonies as readily as from the centre of England itself. He was strengthened in this belief by the fact that the New Zealand Constitution had been obtained by pressure from without, and he saw that it had borne good fruit in Canada.

The pamphlet which he had written upon the subject of Home Rule for Ireland had been discussed by a mutual friend with Mr. Gladstone. Afterwards his friend conveyed to him the fact that Mr. Gladstone, and indeed the leaders of the Liberal party generally, were disturbed by his persistence, and disposed to treat his efforts as embarrassing to the Liberal party and inimical to its interests. It was represented to

him that Mr. Gladstone pointed out that, in addition to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, he was, in conjunction with Mr. Bright, preparing a large and liberal measure in relation to Irish land, which would effectually dispose of the difficulties of Irish government, and meet the first demand of the Irish people.

Considering these facts, some members of the Liberal party urged that the extreme measures proposed by Sir George Grey would be likely to disturb and harass the Liberals, and might possibly cause division amongst their ranks, and delay or defeat the successful carrying out of the measures which that Government proposed, by raising hopes of still more liberal plans. If Sir George Grey was not disposed to rely altogether upon Mr. Gladstone's own opinion, he was to be assured that Mr. Bright, whose sound and critical judgment was scarcely equalled in the Kingdom, fully concurred in the wisdom of the steps being taken, their absolute suitability for the wants of Ireland, and their entire sufficiency to achieve all that was necessary to be done.

Sir George's mind was soon made up. He was determined that he would give no cause of accusation by his own conduct. If the Liberal party, speaking through its leaders, was determined not to assist him in the great measure he proposed, he would return to New Zealand. He had at any rate seen the tide turn in regard to the dismemberment of the Empire. He had obtained the sympathy of many in his advocacy of a true policy of emigration, and he had left on record a common-sense and just proposal for the local self-government of Ireland.

Indeed, though he knew it not, the great principles for which he had striven were all made certain of accomplishment. The power of the economists to

dismember the Empire was shattered. The ground was broken for the inauguration of a future system of State colonisation, and with the publication of his short "Act for the Parliament of the Kingdom of Ireland," the future consummation of that also was probably assured.

Around all these questions the angry storms and passions of party strife might rage. The selfishness of human nature, the lust of power, the pride of hereditary superiority, would indeed delay the fulfilment, but the seed was sown. That seed was life-bearing and must germinate. No man would now dare, openly and seriously, to advocate the disruption of the Empire; and though well nigh fourscore years of age, Sir George Grey yet trusts to see the initiation of a wise system of Imperial colonisation, and a provincial Parliament sitting in College Green.

In 1870 he left the shores of England to return to New Zealand.

Although saddened and dispirited at seeing no visible fruits of his labours in England, Sir George Grey was yet able to look back with pleasure on many meetings with old friends, on much pleasant social and scientific intercourse with the leaders of thought, and on many new and enduring friendships made.

His presence in England had been early utilised by the devotees of science and literature. Thus, on March 15th, 1869, Professor Huxley wrote:

My dear Sir George Grey,—Our first Ethnological meeting here the other night went off so well that we are disposed to add to the three which we had already arranged to hold a fourth on the Ethnology of Polynesia. We propose to hold the meeting on the 11th of May, and my present purpose in writing to you is to beg to be allowed to announce a communication from you, short or long, but the longer the better.

"Maori Sagas" would be a splendid subject, and one which would be abundantly illustrated by the mere crumbs from your table.—Ever yours, very faithfully,

T. H. HUXLEY.

In continuance of the same subject came the following :

April 28th, 1869.

My dear Sir George,—I am particularly obliged to you for sending me the title of your paper in time to enable me to announce it last night. The topic you have chosen is profoundly interesting, and I have no doubt there will be a great attendance to hear you.

The Council wish me to precede you with a few remarks about Polynesia generally; and the Bishop of Wellington will follow you. You will represent the "secular arm" between science and religion.—Ever yours, very truly,

T. H. HUXLEY.

Grey's ardent devotion to scientific research was singularly illustrated immediately prior to his departure from England. Among other subjects of study to which he had paid much attention was that of the nature and composition of ether and its connection with and relation to electricity. He became convinced of the laminiferous structure of ether, and the positive and negative qualities of alternate strata.

If he was right in this, gravitation did not exist. It was an unnecessary conception, called into existence when the qualities of the ether were unknown. The theory of gravitation declared that every body in the universe attracts every other body with a force which varies inversely as the square of the distance. This was but half the truth. The theory of electricity, based on a compound ether, declares that the force, whether attraction or repulsion, varies inversely as the square of the distance. This is the whole truth.

The first half is gravity being incessantly exercised by suns, planets, and smaller celestial bodies, all of which by their rapid revolutions as they travel through space, continually by friction create electricity and give rise to vast electrical discharges, from which emanate light, heat, and other phenomena.

The influence of electricity upon the germination and development of life became in his mind intimately connected with this ether discovery which he believed he had made.

Both in England and on his return to New Zealand he discoursed with several scientific friends upon these subjects, and mentioned to them the arguments which had suggested themselves to his mind, and the results at which he had arrived. One of the first persons to hear Sir George speak of his theory was the great astronomer, Proctor. Several gentlemen now living remember conversations with Sir G. Grey on the subject in the years 1875 and 1876.

In 1889, one of these, upon reading Mr. Lodge's work in the *Nature Series* on "Modern Views of Electricity," was so struck by the verification of Grey's ideas, communicated to him fifteen years before, that he noted the passages and sent the book to Sir George in Auckland. Other friends, also, on seeing Mr. Lodge's book, remembered Sir George's conversations with them at that time, and wrote reminding him of their occurrence.

The value of this discovery, which has been variously and partially attributed to Mr. G. F. Fitzgerald, Mr. Hicks, and Sir William Thomson, is alleged by scientists to be beyond calculation. Mr. Lodge, at the conclusion of the preface to his elaborate and clever book, after speaking of this "Theory of Free Ether," thus writes :

The Theory of bound Ether and of Matter must next follow, and thereby, in addition to all optical and electrical phenomena, gravitation and cohesion must be explained too. Then must be attacked the specific differences between various kinds of matter and the nature of what we call their "combinations."

When this is accomplished, the complex facts of chemistry will have been brought under a comprehensive law. The next fifty years may witness these tremendous victories in great part won.

While leading the agitation against the abandonment of the colonies, and in favour of a national system of colonisation, Sir George, besides addressing great meetings in different parts of England and Scotland, spoke also to very large assemblages in the metropolis. It was after one of these addresses at the Lambeth Baths that the late Governor of New Zealand met an old friend under peculiar but pleasant circumstances.

One among several speakers for the evening, his speech being ended and having another appointment, Sir George Grey left the hall, and wandering through some intricate passages, found himself at length in a narrow street, the name and situation of which were entirely unknown to him.

A stranger in that part of London, he did not know in which direction lay his path. He could see no policeman of whom to make enquiries, and he did not like to ask any chance passer-by. While thus hesitating, his attention was attracted by the opening of a door, and the sudden darting of a somewhat bright light from within across the roadway. The clatter of many feet and the sound of many voices drew his attention still more strongly.

Involuntarily he walked to the half-open door, and for the purpose of enquiring his way, entered the room. It contained a number of young men—clerks, shopmen, and respectable artisans—each with his

bundle of books; evidently an evening class composed of youths who, unable to pursue their studies in the day time, thus gathered together in the evenings, in a sort of advanced school or college. The intelligence and good humour dwelling upon their countenances pleased their self-invited visitor greatly.

Before he had time to make known the intention with which he had thus suddenly intruded upon them, Sir George was still more pleased, for in the tutor of this class, standing at the head of the table, he recognised none other than his old New Zealand friend, Mr. J. E. Gorst.

As in New Zealand this gentleman had given his time and attention to the performance of public duties and the training of the young without payment or any pecuniary reward, so in London he had unselfishly devoted one or two evenings a week to the instruction of these young men, his only reward being the consciousness of duty performed.

As Sir George and Mr. Gorst met and clasped each other's hands, the students, with looks of surprise, departed. Sir George's memory flew back to that time when Rewi had issued the death warrant against his present companion, and he rejoiced to find that in London, as truly as in the Waikato, his friend pursued the same quiet path of unostentatious and self-denying usefulness.

Living at Kensington, and absorbed in his Parliamentary duties, Mr. Gorst yet came up regularly one or two evenings every week to conduct the studies of this class.

Throughout Sir George's election contest, Mr. Edward Jenkins, the author of "Ginx's Baby," was his warm supporter and most active worker. An extract from one or two of his letters will show the feelings with which he regarded Sir George Grey.

A letter dated May 17th, 1870, was accompanied by a copy of "Ginx's Baby," which he told Sir George in great jubilation had been pronounced by Dr. Kingsley, "next to 'Lothair,' the greatest book out for many a day." The author went on to give an idea of a new book he was contemplating, "Ex Cathedra." In another letter, written on May 19th, Mr. Jenkins said:—"I cannot thank you enough for your delicate kindnesses, which give me proof that the old Christian chivalrousness of strong to weak is not everywhere extinct, though fast becoming fossil to this generation." In a later letter he wrote of a friend who showed him great hospitality on Sir George's introduction:—"He did not think 'Ginx's Baby' worth reading, but he treated the author with great consideration. That lucky book has reached a fifth edition, and will shortly reach a sixth. I was astonished on my return to find your early prognostications verified, and the book in every man's mouth. Tennyson, Arthur Helps, Sir Henry Holland, Laurence Oliphant, and a host of others, have testified their admiration in an unmistakable way. If it will only wake men's minds to the necessity of acting, I shall be happy." When he heard that Sir George Grey had determined to leave England, he wrote that no one would ever know how many hopes for England had perished in his heart at the news.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

SOUTH AFRICA AND ENGLAND: A CHAPTER OF DISASTERS.

“ In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs.”

Paradise Lost.

THE years 1869 and 1870 may be looked upon as forming the exact period in which the tide began to turn. The projected breaking up of the Empire proposed by the Economists and Manchester school, and tacitly agreed to by all political parties, had carried England down in its ebbing waters almost to the brink of ruin. Sir George Clerk's abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty, followed soon by his suggestions (which, endorsed by the English Government, were sent to Sir George Grey in 1855-6) had led to the withdrawal of troops from all the colonies. The remonstrances of Sir George Grey had saved the further breaking-up of Africa, although his efforts at confederation had been made the pretext for his recall.

In 1858-9, when Sir G. Grey had been recalled, Lord Carnarvon was, as we have seen, Political Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and he fully shared the ideas of his chief, Sir E. B. Lytton, in the condemnation of the proposed confederation of South

Africa. In 1866 the Earl of Carnarvon joined Lord Derby's third Ministry as Secretary for the Colonies. Lord Carnarvon's opinions had been changing during the seven years which had passed. He began to perceive that the colonies were not only useful to Great Britain at the present, but were likely to be still more useful to her in the future.

Twenty years before, Earl Grey had started upon that course of promoting representative and responsible government which had by 1856 raised into existence in North America, Australasia, New Zealand, and South Africa many young English nations—bold, prosperous, and self-reliant. The other strange and wayward effort, made with all the patient pertinacity for which the noble Earl was famous—the reintroduction of a system of convict settlements in the different colonies—had been abandoned and finally closed in 1854 by the authoritative memorandum of the Duke of Newcastle.

As Earl Grey had conferred upon the great colonies the rights of self-government, under which they grew and prospered, Lord Carnarvon determined that he would aid them in forming confederated States in their different locations, and in lieu of detaching them from the Empire, extend their territories and bind them more closely to the destinies of Britain. The project of confederating the British North American provinces offered to him a favourable opportunity for the practical inauguration of so great a work.

On the 17th of February, 1867, in a speech of great power and earnestness, Lord Carnarvon in the House of Lords moved the second reading of the Bill for confederating British North America, which practically created a second series of United States upon the Western Continent. This was almost his last appearance as a member of that Ministry, as he, with

two of his colleagues, resigned in less than a fortnight on the question of the Reform Bill.

The ideas of colonial federation were slowly making way until the beginning of 1874, when Lord Carnarvon again took office as Secretary for the Colonies under Mr. Disraeli. By this time the tone of public opinion had changed. The efforts made by Sir George Grey, and the public and private utterances of many leading men, equally with the general tendency of the press throughout the Three Kingdoms, had borne fruit.

The well-nigh fatal apathy which the greedy spirit of the ultra-competitive school of economists had caused in relation to the colonies, had given place to a much sounder and more wakeful condition. To get rid of the colonies was no longer deemed desirable. The day had at last arrived when, in Mr. Froude's words, "The old Imperial temper of the nation had revived." From that time forward no party would dare to advocate the dismemberment of the Empire. Indeed there was now a danger of the pendulum swinging to the opposite extreme.

It was at such a time, and under such circumstances, that Lord Carnarvon returned to office. His cousin, Sir Robert Herbert, was permanent Under-Secretary. The political conditions of the great groups of dependencies were peculiar. In the west the provinces of British North America had fairly started upon their career as a confederated dominion. In the east, the long-sundered nations of Southern Asia had been welded into a vaster Indian Empire than Alexander or Genghis Khan imagined. In New Zealand the native question had been settled; and Australasian statesmen, while working out the destinies of their own particular colonies, were rising to the consideration of matters in which all were inte-

rested. Defence from foreign aggression on sea and on land, intercolonial tariffs, and other questions which pressed forward for thoughtful discussion were silently and in the order of nature raising an Australasian tendency towards federation, which the Mother Country and the Ministers of the Crown could aid forward without appearing to meddle with high-spirited communities unwilling to brook interference.

But in South Africa all was confusion. For nearly twenty years the South African States had felt little of the burdens and sufferings which in former days had afflicted them. Sore as were the settlers of the Orange Free State at their abandonment, bitter as was the feeling in the Transvaal against England and the English, yet the generous treatment and wise counsels of Sir George Grey during the eight years 1854 to 1861, and the abiding effect produced by his reforms, had helped to maintain a state of peace and of safety throughout South Africa generally till the year 1871.

In that year Sir Benjamin Pine had been appointed to the Governorship of Natal, and Mr. Theophilus Shepstone was still in office, having control of the Native Department. The unfortunate co-operation of these two minds, which in 1854 had so nearly created an independent kingdom for Mr. Shepstone, was again fated to produce a disturbing influence upon the African States. By a series of blunders and false alarms, a war was raised between Natal and Langabilalele. The followers of the native chief were shot and he himself captured. One man alone had the moral courage to protest against wrongdoing in high places, and to carry his complaints to London. That man was Bishop Colenso.

In response to this appeal for justice, the Secretary for the Colonies, after due investigation, emphatically

denounced the conduct of the Government of Natal. Sir Benjamin Pine sent Mr. Shepstone to London in order that his astuteness and knowledge might counterbalance the zeal and earnestness of the Bishop. That object, however, was not accomplished. The facts were too plain, and the injustice and cruelty too great to permit of any valid defence. Sir Benjamin Pine was recalled. Mr. Shepstone was kept in London in attendance upon the Colonial Office, for reasons and purposes which are only to be explained by other events which transpired in relation to South African matters.

In the four years between 1871 and 1875, everything in connection with the colonies and states of South Africa drifted into confusion. On every hand, causes of quarrel and of contention presented themselves. Diamond fields of immense value were discovered in land which certainly belonged to the Orange Free State; but it was annexed by the Governor of the Cape.

This glaring violation of a solemn treaty exasperated the whole Boer population of the Cape, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Free State. Mr. Southey caused to be sold to the Kafirs and native workmen at these mines, great quantities of arms and ammunition. It is said that the almost incredible number of 500,000 stand of arms with ammunition, were so sold. This increased the bitterness in the minds of the Boers, as they believed these arms would be used by the natives against them.

The Secretary for the Colonies took it upon himself to advise the Cape Colony to enter upon that plan of confederation for proposing which he had helped to dismiss Sir George Grey fifteen years ago. At this interference, which the Colony considered both tyrannical and improper, the Cape people became frantic.

Resolutions were passed in Parliament, and the Colonial Secretary and his despatch held up to ridicule and opprobrium.

Mr. J. A. Froude, always a trusted friend and adviser of Lord Carnarvon, was requested by His Lordship to proceed to the Cape to mediate and explain. Sir Garnet Wolseley with a brilliant staff was sent to Natal. 'All was vain. The people, both of European and native descent, were becoming roused to a dangerous pitch. Lord Carnarvon was sorely troubled; but yet, with tenacity of purpose, adhered to his policy of confederation, and cast about for advisers and assistants whose aid would enable him to calm the troubled sea of South African politics, and effect a permanent union among its discordant peoples.

In furtherance of an idea thrown out by Mr. Froude, a conference was called and held in London on August 3rd, 1876, at which representatives appeared, and which was presided over by Sir Garnet Wolseley.

During the two years in which Mr. Shepstone had been detained in England, his advice and knowledge had been laid under requisition by Lord Carnarvon in relation to the tangled web which presented itself at the Cape of Good Hope.

To this conference Lord Carnarvon appointed Mr. Shepstone as a representative.

Up to this time the influence of Mr. Froude's advice and friendly intervention may have lasted. His counsel might be summed up in the three words, "Conciliation and Patience." Happy would it have been for England and for South Africa had that sage advice been followed.

The conference broke up without doing anything towards confederation. The South African members returned to the Cape, but Mr. Shepstone still remained

in London, in continual attendance at the Colonial Office.

Two years and a half had now passed since Lord Carnarvon had taken office, and the South African matters were still unsettled.

Nearly every course possible had been tried, but failure had attended every effort. Mr. Froude's mission and Sir Garnet Wolseley's appointment had both been fruitless. His own despatches had been slighted, the conference had done nothing, and the intervention of foreign powers had been requested by the Transvaal Republic.

There were at this time two courses open to Lord Carnarvon. One was to ask Sir George Grey, then in the New Zealand Parliament, to take charge of South Africa and complete the task which he had commenced in 1859. The other was to take entire personal control and compel the acceptance of his plans without appearing to use either violence or unfair means.

Every successive despatch revealed more clearly the necessity for action. So rapidly was confusion overshadowing the frontiers of the colonies that to hesitate was to be lost. The first alternative, if ever seriously contemplated, was soon dismissed. It was bitter enough to confess that Grey was right and Downing Street wrong, without having to appeal to him for help. They had adopted his plans after repeated condemnations. To acknowledge that they could not carry those plans into execution without his assistance would have been an additional degradation. Doubtless Mr. Froude advised this course, for his mind was always steadfastly fixed upon this question. To him Sir George Grey was the only man capable of working out the desperate and tangled problem waiting to be solved in South Africa. In that belief

Froude never faltered. Years afterwards, in the pages of that "Océana" which delighted multitudes, he gave utterance to the same belief; and at a date still later he approached the Colonial Office, hoping that Grey might even yet be asked to undertake the task, though bordering upon fourscore years. When in 1880-1 Sir Bartle Frere, heartbroken by the difficulties which defeated all his plans, left the Cape, he pointed out the fact that Sir George Grey alone knew how to deal successfully with the varied races and contending interests of South Africa. And in conversation with Carlyle Lord Carnarvon had heard from the lips of that great man a verdict upon the character of Grey which deserves to be recorded:—"He is born of the Tetragonidæ, built four-square, solid, as one fitted to strongly meet the winds of heaven and the waves of fate."

Driven back upon himself, the Earl of Carnarvon determined to accept the responsibility. No Secretary for the Colonies had enjoyed greater facilities for learning how to govern the Colonial Empire. His political career had been devoted to this portion of the Imperial field. Moreover he considered himself fortunate in having been able for two years to consult an adviser who was able, as he thought, to disclose the whole truth in all its different lights upon every matter appertaining to the Boers and the savage tribes.

By what process of reasoning and counsel the final result was achieved, it is impossible to say. No record of the interviews between Sir Robert Herbert, Lord Carnarvon, and Mr. Shepstone now exists. Probably the proceedings were never reduced to writing, but gradually, through conversations and interviews, suggestions and proposals, the plan which was ultimately adopted was worked out.

Mr. Froude at this time seems absolutely to have lost, not only the influence which he had hitherto exercised over Lord Carnarvon's mind, but also the knowledge of what was passing and the intentions which were shaping themselves in the brain of the Secretary for the Colonies. In several lectures and publications given and issued by Mr. Froude this abundantly appears. No one was more surprised at the ultimate action of Lord Carnarvon than his friend and adviser, Mr. Froude.

Immediately after the conference, and without any notice to the Cape of Good Hope, or to any of the States or people interested, Lord Carnarvon determined upon a course of procedure, the stupidity of which was only equalled by its injustice. The triumvirate—the Earl of Carnarvon, Sir Robert Herbert (the Permanent Under-Secretary), and Mr. Theophilus Shepstone—decided to accomplish a confederation of the South African States, if possible by peaceful means, but if necessary by force. For this purpose a commission in the name of the Queen was, on the 5th day of October, 1876, issued to Mr. Shepstone (now created Sir Theophilus Shepstone, K.C.M.G.) appointing him a Special Commissioner, and giving him full power and authority to annex any territories bordering the British colonies in South Africa, and to incorporate them in the British dominions.

It was under this unconstitutional, oppressive and unrighteous commission that Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the South African Republic, brought on the Zulu war, caused the loss of thirty thousand lives, the expenditure of millions of treasure, and brought more reverses and disgrace to the British flag than were caused by any number of the Queen's subjects under any other document ever penned.

No such commission was ever before issued by the

Crown, probably none such will ever again be issued. The powers and jurisdiction which the Crown possesses, and for the enforcement of which it is able to issue commissions, are of two classes. The first class includes all those functions which belong to it by prerogative; the second those which are conferred upon it by the law of the land. Thus the Crown can of its own inherent right pardon criminals, bestow peerages, declare war, and make peace; but it can take no man's property, or life, or liberty, without the authority of the law—either the common law of the country, acting through its recognised tribunals, or by Act of Parliament.

Under which of these categories did the Minister of the Crown advise his Sovereign to sign this commission? It falls under neither. It purports to bestow authority upon Sir Theophilus Shepstone to annex all the territories, districts, and states adjacent to the British colonies in South Africa, and it commands all the officers and subjects of the Crown, both civil and military, to aid him in so doing. The Orange Free State, the South African Republic, the warlike Zulu nation, all the territories of the free natives, the Portuguese settlements at Delagoa Bay—all are to be annexed to the British Empire at the pleasure of Sir Theophilus Shepstone! There is actually no limit, no condition whatever but his own will. He himself was to be the judge of the facts by which his action was to be determined.

Nearly all these states or territories were in solemn treaty with us at this very time. To the South African Republic and the Orange Free State we had solemnly guaranteed the inviolability—so far as we were concerned—of their territories, and promised to annex no native territories beyond the Orange River. To the Orange Free State we had only three months before

paid £90,000 because we had broken our treaty in this respect. No feature of atrocity is absent from this specimen of Imperial buccaneering. With the States intended to be affected we were at peace. The Imperial Government was at this very time loud in its expressions of desire for a friendly confederation under which their independence was to be secured. We were bound by treaties of the most solemn nature not to interfere. No words could be stronger than those used at the Sand River Convention. "The Assistant Commissioners guarantee in the fullest manner on the part of the British Government to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government, and that no encroachment shall be made by the said Government on the territory beyond to the north of the Vaal River." As to the Orange Free State, that we had abandoned against the wishes and prayers of the people, both Ministers and Parliament turning a deaf ear to the delegates who went to England in 1854. Not only was this commission a breach of the most solemnly pledged faith of the nation; it was absolutely unrighteous. What right had we to annex these States against their will? The ridiculous condition that Sir Theophilus Shepstone was "to be satisfied that a sufficient number of the inhabitants desired to become our subjects," was of course fulfilled. The experienced "Somtseu" easily satisfied himself, although President, Executive, Legislature, and public meetings were all against him. To add to the iniquity of the transaction, the commission was kept secret. It was given to Shepstone privately, and by him taken to Natal and Pretoria, no one but a few privileged persons knowing of its existence.

The subsequent steps taken under this Commission are too recent to need a full recapitulation. In April, 1877, Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the Transvaal. President Burgers, in a memorandum full of dignity and constitutional learning, solemnly protested against the annexation. The Executive Council of the Transvaal endorsed this protest. On the 12th of April, Sir T. Shepstone issued a proclamation annexing the South African Republic. In the course of a speech made by him to the burghers, he said:—"Do you know what has recently happened in Turkey? Because no civilised Government was carried on there, the great Powers interfered, and said, Thus far and no further. And if this is done to an empire, will a little republic be excused when it misbehaves? Complain to other powers and seek justice there? Yes, thank God! justice is *still to be found even for the most insignificant: but it is precisely this justice which will convict us. If we want justice, we must be in a position to ask it with unsullied hands.*"

Prophetic words! Surely the Power which opened the mouth and directed the words of the prophet Balaam, as well as of Balaam's ass, was present with Her Majesty's Commissioner on this momentous occasion.

The following agreement was signed at Wonderfontein, and published in a Dutch newspaper, the *Suid Afrikaan*, at Capetown, 15th February, 1878:—"In the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, and prayerfully waiting on His gracious help and pity, we, the burghers of the South African Republic, have solemnly agreed, and we do hereby agree, to make a holy covenant for us and for our children, which we confirm with a solemn oath. Fully forty years ago our fathers fled from the Cape

Colony in order to become a free and independent people. Those forty years were forty years of pain and suffering. We established Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic, and three times the English Government has trampled our liberty and dragged to the ground our flag which our fathers had baptized with their blood and tears. As by a thief in the night has our Republic been stolen from us. We neither may nor can endure this. It is God's will, and is required of us by the unity of our fathers, and by love to our children, that we should hand over intact to our children the legacy of the fathers. For that purpose it is that we here come together and give each other the right hand, men and brethren, solemnly promising to remain faithful to our country and our people, and with our eye fixed on God, to co-operate until death for the restoration of our beloved Republic.

“So help us, Almighty God.”

The spirit which animated the Boers throughout the desperate struggle which afterwards ensued, was clearly shown in the patience with which they suffered the annexation to take place without resistance, although even then determined to resort at last to the sword, if all other means of redress proved unavailing. The journey undertaken by General Joubert and his colleagues to London; their patient endurance of their flippant reception by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; their return to the Cape; their second journey to England when Mr. Gladstone's ministry came into power; and their despairing return to the Transvaal are all matters of historic interest to the patriot and philosopher. Then at length all hope of human redress having fled, the few scattered Boers gave their flag to the winds, and entrusted their cause to the Lord of hosts.

And when at last peace was made; when the overwhelming force which Sir Evelyn Wood was leading, and which threatened to crush with iron hand the liberties of the Transvaal, was arrested by Mr. Gladstone's telegram, and the independence of the Republic again assured by a solemn treaty, the same Joubert who had been a humble suppliant in Downing Street, uttered these memorable words: "It was not we who conquered. It was the Lord of battles who fought on our side and struck down the English soldiers. Then he softened the British nation's heart, and caused it to be merciful unto us."*

During the whole of the disastrous occurrences from 1876 to 1882, no living man looked on with greater interest or more intense sympathy than Sir George Grey. He read with indignation and astonishment that terrible commission which had been secretly given to the African missionary's son, by which Sir Theophilus Shepstone carried in his hand the powers of life and death, and the destinies of multitudes of his fellow creatures. Sir George Grey's heart bled for the needless sufferings inflicted upon the countries and the peoples over which he had exercised a peaceful and beneficent influence. And he recognised in the disasters which everywhere befell our arms, that retribution which the Supreme Disposer of all things visits upon those who defy His justice and despise his laws. There was in his heart the added poignancy of the belief that all this might have been spared by the exercise of wise counsels. His longings and desires to be in South Africa were useless. He could only stand far off and mourn over the sufferings and disgrace so freely caused by the perverse actions of those in power.

* *Times*, December 29, 1881.

In South Africa itself there were thousands who wished for his presence. That feeling of which Macaulay speaks as rising in the hearts of men who had opposed Cromwell in the days of his power, when in the very streets of London they heard the distant echoes of the Dutch cannon on the Thames, and wished that the great Protector were once more alive, was strong in the hearts of men from Capetown to Delagoa Bay, from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria. More than one of the political and military leaders quoted that couplet from the song of Roland, when the King, at Roncesvalles, was encompassed by hosts of enemies :—

“ Oh, where was Roland then ?
One blast upon his bugle horn,
Were worth ten thousand men.”

Sir George Grey remonstrated with Ministers in London, but his remonstrances were received with scant respect. When Premier in New Zealand in the early part of 1879, he sent the following telegram to the Secretary for the Colonies :—

Governor left. Excuse suggestions regarding Natal. Employ troops where practicable roadmaking. Expend little possible on purely military operations ; much for permanent settlement. For means raise Colonial loan low interest. Two cases repayment such loans, South Australia, Kaffraria. Plan greatly reproductive. Relieve England distressed people. Settle rich country permanently. Create valuable commerce for England. Ensure safety South Africa. Great saving England.

GREY.

With some of the leading men in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal he was in constant correspondence, and it afforded him sincere happiness to find that his memory and works were alike cherished.

Thus President J. H. Brand says in a letter from South Africa in 1881: "I agree with you that if the authorities in the Transvaal had listened to good counsel, and sent correct reports to the Home Government, the unfortunate war would not have taken place." In 1886, commenting on an account in a New Zealand paper of the enthusiastic reception given Sir George Grey on attaining his 74th year, he says: "It must be a source of great happiness in the evening of your long and very useful life, to have received such sincere proofs of love and affection; and to know, that not only there, but also in South Africa, every heart beats with warm gratitude and affection towards you, who have been such a good friend and benefactor, not only to the Cape Colony, but also to the Free State. I am sure that every one read with cordial sympathy what Mr. Froude wrote about you in 'Oceana.'

"You will, I have no doubt, be pleased to hear that at the re-union of the old students of the Grey College last month, your name was often mentioned with affectionate regard. The success of the Institution, founded by you, will also fill your heart with gladness."

In a despatch from Mr. Brand, as President, he informs Sir George that in his speech at the opening of the Volksraad, he pointed out the assistance which he (Sir George) had given the Free State in the important work of tree planting. He also enclosed a copy of a resolution passed by the Volksraad, of which the following is a translation:—"The Volksraad express their hearty thanks to Sir George Grey for this proof of the interest which he continues to take in the Free State, and request the State President to communicate this to Sir George."

The closing scene of the war in the Transvaal

seemed to Sir George Grey an appropriate ending to the long catalogue of blunders which preceded it. It was right, as he believed, that peace should be made. It was right that liberty should be restored to the Transvaal Republic, of which it ought never to have been deprived. No disgrace could possibly attach to a great nation like England by reason of its confession that it had done wrong, and the announcement of its effort to find a remedy.

After repeated reverses to the British arms: when a strong sense of superiority had been established in the minds of the Boers, and a corresponding depression brooded heavily over the English with whom they came in contact; and, after constant declarations that the road to Pretoria should be opened by British arms, forces amply sufficient, under an able general, actually commenced their march towards the capital of the Transvaal. Suddenly a telegram was received by General Wood from the British Ministry, on which the onward course of the army was stopped, negotiations were opened, and finally peace was restored.

This sudden cessation rendered indelible the arrogance of triumph on one side and the humiliation of defeat on the other. Many years must pass away before these feelings are forgotten and their consequences obliterated. Had Sir George Grey been in command in South Africa, he would have withheld the telegram until Sir Evelyn Wood had arrived at Pretoria, taken possession, and relieved the English garrison. Then, having asserted the supreme power of Great Britain, he would have proceeded, in the names of justice and of mercy, to have arranged the terms of peace.

The conduct of war in distant lands by the British Government has always been characterised by weak-

SIR G. GREY ENGAGES IN ENGLISH POLITICS.

ness and vacillation. Britain has been generally fortunate in the men who have held actual command in her foreign wars, and her successes have been due, as a rule, not to the wisdom of Ministers at home, but to the capacity of generals abroad. The same weakness and incompetence has characterised the Home government of the English dependencies.

CHAPTER XLIX.

INDICTMENT OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

"Hast any philosophy in thee, shepherd?"
As You Like It.

"Shrine of the mighty! can it be
That this is all remains of thee?"
Byron.

The government of the Colonies from Downing Street, especially since the separate existence of the Colonial Department, which dates from 1835, has been from the beginning to the present time characterised by blunders, mistakes, and crimes. The exigencies of party and the interests of political or financial cliques have often outweighed the claims of distant communities which possessed no voice in Parliament. In the long list of Secretaries since Charles Grant (Lord Glenelg), who held office in 1835, to Sir H. T. Holland (Lord Knutsford), who is now in power, not one had any practical acquaintance with the colonies or colonists. During the fifty-five years there have been no less than twenty-four Principal Secretaries of State for the Colonies and twenty-seven Parliamentary Under-Secretaries, of whom four afterwards filled the office of Chief. Of all these forty-seven noblemen and gentlemen, not one had any sufficient knowledge of the political, social, or economic condition of the multitudinous young nations over which he ruled—

some, and these men of high position, being absolutely ignorant even of the geographical position of these important dominions of the Crown. During the seven years from 1852 to 1859 there were no fewer than ten Principal Secretaries, namely, Sir John Pakington, the Duke of Newcastle, Sir G. Grey, Bart., Sidney Herbert (Lord Herbert of Lea), Lord John Russell, Sir W. Molesworth, Lord Stanley (Earl of Derby), Sir E. B. Lytton, and again in 1859, the Duke of Newcastle.

The tenure of office was necessarily unequal. The Earl of Carnarvon, as Under-Secretary, held office for two years, and twice as Chief Secretary for two and four years respectively. This is the only instance of one man being in the Colonial Office three times, and the term of eight years is the longest which one occupant has ever enjoyed, and is only equalled by that of Earl Grey. The Duke of Newcastle was in power for seven years, but Lord John Russell only for nine weeks in 1855, succeeding Sidney Herbert, who held office for three months, and being succeeded by Sir W. Molesworth, who kept in for four. Between February and November, 1855, there were four different Principal Secretaries for the Colonies.

Amid such a series of changes it cannot be expected that one fixed idea or fixed plan of government was possible. A tradition, indeed, exists in Downing Street that changes of Ministers do not mean changes of policy; but, however earnestly, however honestly succeeding Secretaries may strive to carry out the policy of their predecessors, change there must be, and that not seldom of a serious character.

The record of the successive Ministers holding office in this department since its first creation is sufficient of itself to prove that there could be no cohesion in principle, no sequence in council, in that

branch of the Government of Great Britain which ruled the destinies of the colonies :

SECRETARIES AND UNDER-SECRETARIES FROM
1835 TO 1890.

	SECRETARIES.	UNDER SECRETARIES.
1835	Rt. Hon. Chas. Grant. (Lord Glenelg).	Sir G. Grey, Bart.
1839	Marquis of Normanby.	Rt. Hon. W. Labouchere (Lord Taunton).
1839	Lord John Russell.	Rt. Hon. H. V. Smith (Lord Lyveden).
1841	Lord Stanley (Earl of Derby).	G. W. Hope.
1845	Mr. W. E. Gladstone.	Lord Lyttelton.
1846	Earl Grey, K.G.	Benj. Hawes.
1846	Sir John Pakington (Hampton).	Benj. Hawes.
1852	Duke of Newcastle.	Sir Fredk. Peel.
June 10, 1854	Rt. Hon. Sir G. Grey, Bart.	Sir Fredk. Peel.
Feb., 1855	Rt. Hon. Sidney Herbert. (Lord Herbert of Lea).	John Ball.
May 15, 1855	Lord John Russell.	John Ball.
July 21, 1855	Rt. Hon. Sir W. Molesworth, Bart.	(1857) Chichester Fortescue.
Nov. 17, 1855	Rt. Hon. W. Labouchere.	(1857) Chichester Fortescue.
Feb. 26, 1858	Lord Stanley (Earl of Derby).	Earl Carnarvon.
May 31, 1858	Rt. Hon. Sir E. B. Lytton.	Earl Carnarvon.
June 18, 1859	Duke of Newcastle, K.G.	Hon. Chichester Fortescue (Carlingford).
April 4, 1864	Rt. Hon. E. Cardwell.	(1865) W. E. Forster.
July 6, 1866	Earl of Carnarvon.	Sir C. B. Adderly (Lord Norton).
March 8, 1867	Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.	Sir F. R. Sandford.
Dec. 10, 1868	Earl Granville, K.G.	W. Monsell (Lord Emly), H. T. Holland. Hon. R. Meade.

	SECRETARIES.	UNDER SECRETARIES.
July 6, 1870	Earl of Kimberley, K.G.	(1871) E. H. Knatchbull-Hugesson (Brabourne).
Feb. 21, 1874	Earl of Carnarvon.	James Lowther.
Feb. 4, 1878	Rt. Hon. Sir M. Hicks-Beach.	Earl Cadogan.
April 28, 1880	Earl of Kimberley, K.G.	Sir M. E. Grant-Duff. (1881) Leonard H. Courtney.
Dec. 16, 1882	Earl of Derby, K.G.	Hon. Evelyn Ashley.
June 24, 1885	Rt. Hon. Col. F. A. Stanley.	Earl of Dunraven.
Feb. 6, 1886	Earl Granville, K.G.	C. Osborne-Morgan.
Aug. 3, 1886	Rt. Hon. Edward Stanhope.	Earl of Dunraven.
Jan. 14, 1887	Holland, Lord Knutsford (since made).	Earl of Onslow. (1888) Rt. Hon. Baron de Worms.

PERMANENT UNDER-SECRETARIES.

- 1835. Sir James Stephen.
- 1847. Herman Merivale.
- 1859. Sir Frederick Rogers.
- 1871. Sir Robert George Wyndham Herbert.

The Colonial Office in Downing Street seemed destined to be the grave of South African hopes. Under the great archway and up the massive staircase had gone processions of men, hopeful even under adverse fates. Down the great steps and out from beneath the vaulted roof, through the quiet street and into the busy thoroughfare opposite Whitehall, those men had returned sad at heart. The delegates from the Orange River Sovereignty had trodden that path when they called on England not to disown her children. Sir George Grey had patiently waited there

during a long year, and at length weary and filled with apprehensions for his beloved Africa, turned away for ever.

Joubert and his comrades, bronzed by the southern sun and desert winds, had marched upon that road when Sir Michael Hicks-Beach ruled in the Colonial Office, and had implored his mercy. It is said that when the unpolished Boers waited upon him with a humble prayer, the young Secretary, filled with a poetic and prophetic spirit, bade them look at the sun—which to them, accustomed to his intolerable brilliance, was not difficult in the London sky—and said that as long as that sun shone in the heavens, the British flag would wave in the Transvaal. There again they came when, after returning to the Cape, they heard that the Ministry of Mr. Gladstone had succeeded to power; but again in vain. Then out from the quiet court they went, silently breathing a prayer to the Lord of hosts to strengthen their hearts and sharpen their swords for the day of battle against the mighty oppressor.

There Sir Bartle Frere went, broken-hearted, on his sad return from the Cape. There Froude strode up, full of pleasant anticipations, and thence he also departed gloomy and astonished. Into those portals went Mr. Shepstone, filled with vague terrors; of all these stirring, anxious hearts, he alone went away triumphant, honoured with a knighthood, and bearing with him that terrible commission which will ever be accursed in the history of South Africa.

What dreadful destiny, what conjunction of evil stars, was it that compelled the Colonial Office thus to flout the wishes of patriots, and to inflict wounds so great and sore upon the unoffending people over which it ruled?

The historic lesson taught by the revolt of the

American colonies, followed by the well-nigh fatal outbreak in India, was not sufficient to teach wisdom to the officials in Downing Street, or to the British people. The last great wound inflicted upon British prestige and the solidarity of the Empire, was dealt in South Africa between 1874 and 1881. That sore is yet open—the scar is still unhealed.

Such gross and perverse conduct must bring punishment. It is far from impossible that the final result of the action taken by Lord Carnarvon may be a confederation indeed of the States in South Africa, but a confederation independent of Britain, and under an alien standard. Australasia may also choose to leave the shadow of the old flag.

The impotent folly which characterised the colonial policy of 1853, which, while it rejected the absolute dominion of the Southern Ocean, invited the nations of the Old World to occupy with armed forces the harbours and strategic points of many island groups, threatening the commerce and safety of Australasia, is not forgotten. The last ten years have borne ample testimony to the weakness of England's foreign and colonial policy. Australian federation will soon be an accomplished fact. If the Empire is to continue, there must be a different system of Government and different principles of action to those which have hitherto generally controlled the Colonial Department.

Nor can the Colonial Office escape the influence of that subtle power which we call "public opinion." The student of history will, in pondering the records of the last fifty years of colonial development, trace certain main currents of thought and action, obtaining at different periods, manifested by different policies, and producing different results. From 1835 to 1845, the period during which the existing mighty Empire

was in great part founded or enlarged, there was an evident determination to extend that Empire on every hand. New colonies were founded, new territories annexed, new responsibilities undertaken. South Australia, Victoria, New Zealand, Natal, many parts of India, were annexed or founded during this decade, so fruitful in great conceptions. From 1845 to 1853, the predominant aim was to consolidate and strengthen the great dependencies. This was the era in which political Constitutions were granted and the leading colonies became self-governing. During the six years 1846—1852, one mind directed this part of the colonial destiny.

Earl Grey, called in 1846 to direct the affairs of the rapidly growing children of England, saw that to make stable governments there must be a wide foundation of political power, and a direct responsibility of the rulers to the people. Amid the revolutions and changes which shook Europe to its foundations in 1848, the mind of this astute statesman ever recognised the necessity for colonial self-government. To keep these great and ever-growing communities loyal to the Crown and the Empire he saw that they must be permitted to rule themselves, that Downing Street could only drive them into rebellion as it had driven America. Although the gift of responsible government had not been bestowed in full upon the great dependencies when Earl Grey gave up the seals of his office in 1852, yet the work was practically done. Some few reactionary steps were indeed taken by Sir John Pakington, who succeeded him, but the result was neither seriously delayed nor greatly altered except in the case of New Zealand.

Side by side with this growth of local self-government there marched a theory which, had it been carried into such constant practice as its teachers

wished, would have shattered the Empire to pieces, and set back the history of civilisation by a hundred years.

The economists became gradually powerful during the period when the colonies experienced their self-governing and constitutional birth. By 1854 they had obtained control of both parties, and Liberals and Conservatives had tacitly consented to the abandonment of the colonies and the dismemberment of the Empire.

CHAPTER L.

EARL GREY AND LORD CARNARVON COMPARED.

“ Look here upon this picture and on this,
The counterfeit presentment of two brothers.” •
Hamlet.

THE two representative Colonial Ministers of the rival parties in Great Britain during this period are undoubtedly Earl Grey and the Earl of Carnarvon. If we consider length of service, political and social position, the periods during which they respectively held office, the importance of the questions and exigencies which they were called upon to meet, and the respective time of life of each when holding office, it will be seen that no other Colonial Ministers are able to dispute with them the pride of place. Earl Grey, then Lord Howick, had been made Under-Secretary for the Colonies at the early age of twenty-nine, at the time when Lord Carnarvon was born. When Earl Grey took the seals of office in 1846, Henry Howard Herbert was still at Eton. 1852, which finally severed Earl Grey's official connection with Downing Street, heard “the bonny bells of Christ Church” ring sweet music to the young Earl of Carnarvon, for the honours list revealed him as a first in classics; and within six years Carnarvon entered the Colonial Office, from which Earl Grey had for ever departed.

Lord Howick had been Under-Secretary for the Colonies at twenty-nine; Lord Carnarvon accepted the same honourable position at twenty-seven. For the seventeen months during which he continued as Under-Secretary, from February, 1858, to June, 1859, his chiefs in Downing Street were Lord Stanley (Earl of Derby) and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. Earl Grey was principal Secretary from 1846 to 1852, between his forty-fourth and fiftieth years; Lord Carnarvon occupied the same position twice, first from 1866 to 1867, when he was thirty-five years old, and again from 1874 to 1878, between his forty-third and forty-seventh years. The heads of great houses, wealthy, cultured, enjoying public favour both in Parliament and in social life, holding the same positions during practically the same periods of their lives, and for the same length of time, called upon to act in circumstances of great difficulty, and to exercise control of distant nations at perilous crises in their histories, when a single false step meant ruin and death to thousands, and possible disgrace and defeat to the Imperial power of Britain, they may be fairly compared.

There is a trite and humorous saying, used by many well-known writers, that "comparisons are odious"; but no reader of history, studying biography from the *Lives* of Plutarch to Macaulay's *Essays*, will deny that the truest appreciation of character is to be obtained by contrasting the acts of different men under similar circumstances and trials.

On judging the acts of public men, Earl Grey thus writes :

"A retrospect of public affairs necessarily implies that the conduct of those who have taken part in them should be made the subject of comment, which

cannot always be of a favourable character, and it is for the general interest that these matters should be canvassed without unnecessary restraint. It tends to keep up a due sense of their responsibility in the minds of those who are engaged in the exciting scenes of political life, that they should know that all they may do is liable to be reviewed and discussed when time and the results of their acts shall have thrown a light on their character."*

That they are responsible to the nation is not only clear, but admitted.

"Though the Secretary of State entrusted with the department of the colonies receives much assistance from his colleagues, and though the most important measures which it is his duty to carry into effect ought to be decided upon with their advice and concurrence, still the main responsibility for all errors that are committed properly rests with him." With full knowledge of public responsibility, and offering themselves and their actions for the approval of history, it may, especially at this epoch of rapid growth in the influence of the colonies in Imperial matters, be wise to "review and discuss their deeds when time and the results of their acts shall have thrown a light upon their real character."

Even to minute details and occurrences, the similarity between the two men is remarkable. One instance may illustrate this fact. Lord Howick threw up his position and left his colleagues in 1833 because his own wish for the immediate abolition of slavery in the colonies was not followed. Lord Carnarvon gave up the seals of the Colonial Office in 1867 to the Duke of Buckingham because he differed from the Cabinet on the subject of reform.

* Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration, 1853.—Earl Grey. Richard Bentley.

The contrast exhibited between the conduct of the two 'statesmen' will not illustrate the difference between the two political parties, for Earl Grey never held with his party upon the dismemberment craze, which was the main colonial policy elaborated between 1850 and 1870 by the Liberals. An important lesson may, however, be learned from this comparison, arising from the dangers attendant upon the present personal and irresponsible government of the colonies.

The leading events connected with the colonial government in the career of both may be shortly stated. Earl Grey resigned his position in 1833 because the slaves in the British colonies were not immediately set free. On taking office thirteen years later he was met by two difficulties. The Governor of New Zealand requested him to obtain the consent of Parliament to the suspension of their own Act, and the Canadian colonies were lapsing into a state of anarchy.

In 1849, believing that, as labour was scarce in the colonies, colonists would gladly receive convicts of comparatively good conduct, Earl Grey sent to several parts of the world numbers of these unfortunate people. During the whole term of his office, 1846 to 1852, Earl Grey had to deal with the grave question of colonial self-government. This was the era of colonial Constitutions. It was fortunate that the Colonial Office retained as its head during these six years a statesman who combined the wisdom of a philosopher with the charity of a philanthropist and the vast power of a British Minister.

When Lord Carnarvon was first in office in 1858-59, the South African States were disposed to confederate under the English flag, thus reversing the plan of dismemberment. During his two official

years, 1866-67, the method of appointment of Governors to the great colonies was decided. On his final holding of the colonial seals, the problem of South Africa, including the Zulu war and the annexation of the Transvaal, presented itself for solution.

Earl Grey left his colleagues in 1833 because they would not go fast or far enough in bestowing freedom.

The Earl of Carnarvon threw up office in 1867 as a protest against the Parliamentary reform contemplated by his chief, Lord Derby.

On many occasions Earl Grey found his plans opposed and his wishes thwarted, either by the Governors of the colonies or by the colonists themselves. His earnest desire to assist the New Zealand Company in their claims to native lands; his determination to grant to New Zealand the representative government which was embodied in the Charter and Constitution Act of 1846, which it was feared would have secured to the New Zealand Company an undue and unlawful power and control over the native lands; his strong wish to settle the better part of the English convicts in the different colonies; his purpose of instituting in the colonies a State Church and granting to it immense endowments—each and all met with stern and uncompromising opposition. From some Sir George Grey dissented; from others the colonists turned fiercely indignant.

The result was always the same. Eager to advance the interests of the colonies, Earl Grey was ever ready to listen to arguments urged against his views. He showed a disposition towards extreme justice by always permitting reasons to be given against his own plans and opinions, no matter how strong those opinions might be. He was frequently astonished at the violence, amounting sometimes to antipathy, dis-

played against measures which he believed to be fraught with good. But he never failed, when his convictions of a righteous popular wish or of the justice of the arguments opposed to his belief became assured, to set aside his own judgment and to act in a manner consistent with the new light which he had gained.

He could not understand the passionate earnestness with which the Cape colonists refused to receive convicts. He felt compelled by the correspondence from New Zealand upon the Treaty of Waitangi and the Constitution Act to surrender absolutely every position which he had taken up. Once convinced that the public good required the sacrifice of his own opinions, that sacrifice, however painful, was made. There was a natural goodness, a wonderful impartiality in his judgment, so that he was able, when reviewing the circumstances of his defeated plans, to see all things in the "dry light" of which Bacon speaks, and to give ungrudging praise to those whom he believed praiseworthy, although they might have defeated his most cherished projects.

The merits of this great statesman were not solely of a negative kind. His exertions for the welfare of the many kingdoms over which he ruled were ceaseless. His energy was untiring, his one aim being to secure the greatest happiness for colonists in every part of the earth. He did not permit party feelings to deter him in his choice of instruments. In 1846 the state of Canada made it absolutely necessary that a Governor of peculiar abilities should be appointed. "As our object was not to make the selection with a view to party interests, but to intrust the management of the largest and most important of the British colonies, in a season of great difficulty, to the ablest hands we could find, Lord Elgin was recommended

to the Queen for this appointment, in preference to any of our own party or personal friends.”*

It must not be forgotten that Lord Elgin had five years before seconded the amendment to the address which defeated Lord Melbourne's ministry in 1841. In another part of his book Earl Grey says: “I consider it to be the obvious duty and interest of this country to extend representative institutions to every one of its dependencies where they have not yet been established, and where this can be done with safety.”† Acting upon this principle, the noble Earl devoted thought and influence to this momentous work. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and in part South Africa, have all benefited by his arduous toils in this direction.

Earl Grey entertained the most extreme views upon the question of the waste lands of the Crown and the abandonment of the colonies. The economists had not, at the date of publication of his book, attained the full strength and influence which they afterwards usurped.

In these days of conflicting argument as to the right of local control over the waste territories of the Empire, it may be wise to regard the past utterance of the most successful Minister to whose care the colonies were ever confided.

“The waste lands of the vast colonial possessions of the British Empire are held by the Crown as trustee for the inhabitants of that Empire at large, and not for the inhabitants of the particular provinces divided by arbitrary geographical limits in which any such waste lands happen to be situated; otherwise this consequence would follow, that the first

* “Earl Grey's letters to Lord John Russell on Colonial Administration,” p. 208.

† *Ibid.*, p. 26.

inhabitants of any of these vast provinces (if possessing those representative institutions which arise as of right in ordinary British colonies) are indefeasibly entitled to administer all the lands and land revenue of the great unexplored tract called a province of which they may occupy an extremity, wholly without regard to the nation which has founded the settlement, perhaps at great expense, in order to serve as a home for her own emigrants and a market for her own industry. For the right thus defined and claimed by the Legislative Council (New South Wales), if their expressions were to be strictly taken, would belong as fully to the 4,000 inhabitants of Western Australia as to the 200,000 of New South Wales: nay, would equally have belonged to the first ten families which settled in a corner of New Zealand, and would entitle each small community from the first days of its planting to the ownership of tracts sufficient to maintain Empires."*

His opinions, also, upon the growing policy of dismemberment are instructive:—

"I have thought it necessary to state thus strongly my dissent from the views of those who wish to dismember the Empire by abandoning the colonies, because it is impossible not to observe that this policy—unworthy of a great nation, and unwise as I consider it to be—is not only openly advocated by one active party in the country, but is hardly less effectually supported by persons occupying an important position in Parliament, and who, while they hesitate to avow their adherence to it, hold language which obviously leads in the same direction, and advocate measures the adoption of which would inevitably bring about this result."

* Earl Grey, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 324. Answer to despatch from New South Wales.

Again in another passage occurring on pages 304 and 305 in the second volume of the work from which the foregoing quotations are made, Lord Grey states his conviction that such views will ultimately lead "by a few short and easy steps to the severance of the tie which binds the fairest portion of our Colonial Empire to the British Crown. I know that some of those who advocate the changes to which I allude are prepared for this result—if they do not regard its probability as an additional recommendation of the measures they propose; but I earnestly trust that such is not the view of this great question which is destined to gain acceptance with Parliament and with the public. For my own part, though with the consequences of the American revolution before my eyes, I certainly am not prepared to say that the loss of our Colonial Empire must necessarily be fatal to our national greatness and prosperity, still, I should regard such an event as a grievous calamity, and as lowering by many steps the rank of this country among the nations of the world. You (Lord J. Russell), I am persuaded, will concur with me in this opinion, and will feel no less strongly than myself the desire that the great British Empire may to a long futurity be held together, and preserve its station among the principal powers of the earth."

Lord Carnarvon's official career in connection with the colonies is dissimilar and opposed in every respect to that of his illustrious predecessor. He was Under-Secretary to Lord Stanley from February to May 1858, and to Sir E. B. Lytton from May, 1858, to June 18th, 1859, when the Tories were out of power. This seventeen months is a period of deeper disgrace to the Colonial Office than any other save one since the American colonies were driven out. The blackest page in the history of colonial government was

written during the last period of Lord Carnarvon's authority, from 1874 to 1878.

Soon after he first took office in 1858-a long and angry correspondence began between the Colonial Office and the War Office in England and Sir George Grey in South Africa regarding the German Legion, afterwards including the scheme of German immigration. During this period, also, Sir George was compelled by the culpable negligence of Downing Street to advance £6,000 of his private income to carry on the government of British Kaffraria. It is difficult to find words capable of conveying sufficiently severe censure upon the conduct of the Colonial Office during this period. The course pursued by the Imperial Government in reference to the vote for British Kaffraria was utterly foolish as well as dishonest, and but for the prompt aid given by the Governor would have produced deplorable results. The whole matter of the settlement of the German Legion, with its discreditable repudiation of liabilities and refusal to perform promises, would also, without the wise and prudent interference of Sir George, have led to crime and bloodshed.

The recall of the Governor in 1859, and the absolute refusal of the Colonial Office to permit the question of confederation for South Africa to be entertained, was one of the greatest political blunders possible. This has since been acknowledged by all parties.

When Lord Carnarvon again took office in 1866, Sir George Grey was just bringing to a successful conclusion the fierce and bitter native war in New Zealand. Many controversies had arisen between the Governor and Downing Street. Besides these, Lord Carnarvon remembered Sir George Grey of old. The noble Earl had evidently determined to get rid

of a subordinate who possessed so strong a will and acted so independently. In addition to these reasons another existed, which in itself was sufficient to push Sir George Grey from the public service. The Conservative party, as we have seen, presumably acting under the advice of the Earl of Carnarvon, though it is believed Mr. Disraeli was the original proposer, laid down the rule that the Governors of the great colonies must henceforth, if possible, be peers, or the sons of peers, "born in the purple," or at least married to a peer's daughter. For this policy, which has of late years guided the appointment of Governors to all the great dependencies, Great Britain is without doubt indebted to Lord Carnarvon.

Upon his last acceptance of office in 1874, the excitement and interest of colonial government centred in South Africa. The long years of peace which had been given to that part of the Empire by the policy of Sir George Grey had come to an end. Sir Benjamin Pine was again Governor of Natal, and Mr. Shepstone was again his adviser. Langabillalele's war, brought on by a gross act of tyranny, and signalised by a ferocious cruelty, which shocked even the Government in Downing Street, caused the removal of Sir Benjamin Pine and the momentous visit of Shepstone to London, which ended in the unparalleled commission entrusted to him by Lord Carnarvon. The annexation of the diamond fields, the Zulu danger, the state of the Transvaal, and the agitation existing upon the question of confederation—all tended to swell the storm which threatened to break over our colonies at the Cape.

Lord Carnarvon was fully alive to the dangers which menaced South Africa. In his hands the Queen and country had placed the entire control of colonial affairs. His will was absolute, his power

unbounded. In the very prime of life, at a time when the passions and prejudice of youth had been tempered by a large experience and extended knowledge of the world, the English people were justified in the belief that he would fulfil his duty to them and to South Africa. In the performance of that duty Lord Carnarvon signally failed.

Upon the whole volume of English history there is no page displaying so much stubborn prejudice and such incredible folly as the colonial administration of England from 1874 to 1878. During no equal period of time did such disgraceful disasters follow such tyrannous and unconstitutional administration. There have been periods and Ministers which bring a blush of shame and anger to the cheek, and there have been policies which were mistaken, and caused great calamities before being changed, but no instance of history equals in deliberate misconduct the actions of the Colonial Office at this time, not does history record a deeper disgrace or a swifter retribution.

The two questions of importance were the shaping of a policy and the appointment of a man to carry that policy into effect. Lord Carnarvon was well aware that Sir George Grey had achieved an unparalleled success in dealing with South African matters, and acquired an unparalleled influence over the strangely diverse populations thrown side by side in that region. He had himself recalled Sir George in 1859 for promoting confederation. He knew, also, that Sir George had only a few years before applied to be sent back to that sphere where, during his former Governorship, he had done such brilliant service. No one in England had greater reason than the Earl of Carnarvon to believe that the one man who could bring South Africa safely through the storm about to burst upon it from so many points

was Sir George Grey. If the noble Earl took advice at all upon this matter, it must have been from his friends Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury, or from the two men to whom he generally looked for aid in South African affairs, Sir Bartle Frere and Mr. J. A. Froude. If Lord Derby had been asked he would, unless altogether changed from the Lord Stanley of old times, have advised Lord Carnarvon to forget his prejudices, and give South Africa again to the care of the old Governor; while Lord Salisbury had protested against Grey's recall in 1859. It is a matter of history that both Sir Bartle Frere and Mr. Froude believed Grey to be the only man who could rule in peace over that wild territory and its strange communities.

Lord Carnarvon was equally well aware that we were bound by solemn treaties to the Boers, the Orange Free State, and many of the native tribes; that a friendly offer of assistance and intervention would, especially under Sir George Grey's authority, cause the clouds to disperse and the dangers to pass away; while aggression and the use of force might set South Africa in a blaze.

Possessing full information upon every point, taking ample time for deliberation, fully conscious of the tremendous consequences which might follow his acts, Lord Carnarvon yet offered advice to his Sovereign, which set in motion forces unconstitutional in themselves, pregnant with disgrace and disaster, and well nigh certain to scatter war and ruin over vast territories and different races of men.

The Commission which Lord Carnarvon obtained from Her Majesty for Sir Theophilus Shepstone was such as no Minister should have advised, and such as the Crown, with all respect be it written, had no right whatever to give. It was a gross breach of the law

of nations, it was a crime against humanity, it was in direct defiance of the justice of God.

Had not the Earl of Carnarvon been blinded by prejudice against the Boers and against Sir George Grey, he must have seen that in Grey's appointment to power, and his wonderful influence and sagacity lay, humanly speaking, the only path to peace. Had he not been infatuated with a belief in his own foresight and the invincible power of England, he would have paused before he pledged his country to a certain policy of war, of annexation, and of shame. The story of that sad time in which we waged war against the Kafirs and Zulus, annexed the Transvaal, violated treaties, and spread ruin and desolation far and wide, will cause wonder and surprise to our children's children. The end feared and predicted by Sir George Grey soon came, prefaced by the disasters of Isandlwana, Laing's Nek, and Majuba Hill. The English people, roused at last to the enormity of the offence which had been committed by Lord Carnarvon, retraced their steps as far as possible, and caused right and justice to prevail once more.

After his retirement from active connection with the government of the colonies, Lord Carnarvon placed the last finishing touch to the sharpness of the contrast between himself and Earl Grey. Earl Grey considered and treated the great territorial possessions of the Crown in the colonies as a sacred trust for the British people. Lord Carnarvon, with his cousin, Sir Robert Herbert, and other gentlemen, took advantages under a charter to obtain a block of land in Western Australia (a Crown colony) of sixteen millions four hundred thousand acres, an area half as large as England, more than three-quarters that of Ireland, and nearly five times as large as Wales. The conditions upon which the title to this magnifi-

cent estate was to be given to those from whom Lord Carnarvon and his friends afterwards acquired large estates are somewhat doubtful. The influences which were used to obtain this Imperial concession are not known to the public. When an ex-Secretary of State for the Colonies and a permanent Under Secretary for that department become in part potential owners of estates greater than some kingdoms, in a colony subject directly to the control of the Colonial Office, in which their influence is paramount, two statements will naturally be made, first that the identification of great Ministers of State with such a proceeding must be regarded with reprobation, and second that men who engage in such enterprises, however lofty their position, are more anxious to secure great estates for themselves than to conserve the public lands for the benefit of multitudinous families of the toilers of the nation.

It is said that Lord Carnarvon himself had only contracted to acquire 64,000 acres of this huge estate, while Sir Robert Herbert had to be content with the same area. Be that as it may, the statement of the facts is sufficient to arouse public attention, and to illustrate the different opinions held upon the subject of the waste lands of the Crown by Earl Grey and Lord Carnarvon.

Earl Grey has long passed the allotted span of human existence. Nearly ninety years of age, although it cannot be said of him, as of Moses, "that his eye is not dim nor his natural force abated," even yet with clear reasoning and critical judgment he is able to speak with great wisdom upon all matters connected with that mighty Colonial Empire which he governed so well, and has done so much to benefit.

As from the calmness and the quiet of life's evening

he looks back upon his career as colonial arbiter, how gratifying must it be to pass in review the events not only painted upon his memory, but carved in the history of his country's greatness. No blot stains the page, no jarring chord disturbs the harmony, no regret brings back a pang. As he regards the birth and infancy of the innumerable family of nations confided to his care, he can behold with serene and lofty pleasure the development of great principles, the accomplishment of great thoughts. It has fallen to the lot of no other man, living or dead, to mould the political institutions of so many future nations. No statesman of ancient or modern times has shown greater patience, a more sincere self-denial, or more earnest devotion in the discharge of great public duties than Earl Grey displayed in his connection with the colonies of Britain.

His epitaph will be written upon the earth's broad surface. If in future days men ask what monument has been erected to the great Minister for the Colonies, Earl Grey, it will be sufficient to point to the four corners of the earth, where Englishmen live in possession of as much freedom as free institutions can bestow, and to answer, *Si quaeris monumentum, circumspecte.*

What a different picture is presented in the outlines of Lord Carnarvon's public life! The first great error on the very threshold of his career—his determined assertion of autocratic power and the unjust dismissal of an illustrious Governor as a punishment for promoting the confederation of South Africa. Then on his assumption of supreme authority, the exhibition of utter disregard for the wishes of colonists, leading to the establishment of a system by which the Governorships of the great colonies were to be restricted to members of the aristocracy, and no longer to be the

reward of worth or merit. Finally, the ghastly series of tragedies enacted in South Africa, that history written in blood, for which he must be held in great measure responsible.

The silent, desolate rock in the African desert at whose base lie scattered to this day the bones of English soldiers, recalling that hour of carnage when the dreadful horns of the Zulu impi closed in the rear of our devoted legion at Isandlawhana; the stern, pale face of Pomeroy Colley meeting his death on Majuba Hill; the spectres of the brave men who fell at Laing's Nek and a score of other spots in the African wilderness; these must for ever darken the page which records Lord Carnarvon's connection with the Colonial Office. The form of the Prince Imperial pierced by the Zulu spears, and the weeping Empress, the lamp of her life gone out, sorrowing over the dead, protest in silent pathos against the tremendous power for good or evil exercised by one man.

Some spots of sunshine there are to relieve the darkness of the gloomy picture, but its prevailing characteristics are those of stubborn prejudice, of unconstitutional actions, of disastrous results.

The contrast of these two statesmen presents a feature of still greater importance to the Empire than the mere comparison of their personal merits. It brings prominently into view the viciousness of the system by which the colonies are governed. When the sole power of determining great questions in connection with the colonies rests in the uncontrolled will of a Secretary of State, the ties which bind the colonies to Britain are always liable to be snapped. The Sisters, with their fatal shears, are ever lurking in the corridors of Downing Street. The same benevolence, the same wisdom, and the same patience, which made Earl Grey's control a perennial spring of

blessing to the colonies, may be displayed by others under the benignant sway of the Crown to its many dependencies; but on the other hand the same obstinacy and prejudice which threw the American colonies into revolt, and in later times brought disgrace and suffering upon England and South Africa under the guidance of Lord Carnarvon, may again be seen.

If English statesmen wish in sincerity to retain the supremacy of Britain among the family of nations, they must discover some wiser and safer plan of governing the colonies than that of committing their destinies to the arbitrary will of a Secretary of State.

It is with extreme pain that a contrast so unfavourable to the character of Lord Carnarvon has in truth to be sketched. In so many ways and under so many aspects has the Master of Highclere endeared himself to the people of Britain that it is distasteful to disparage a character and life otherwise worthily held in estimation. In the household, in the Church, and in the world, blameless and unspotted, the errors of his conduct in relation to the colonies are partly traceable to his want of training in that great competitive Chamber where nearly all English statesmen have gained wisdom and experience.

Of the participators in the mismanagement of South African affairs, there remains but one who can be dealt with by public opinion in England. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, if still alive, is in South Africa. He also was but, in himself, an insignificant personage, little more than an instrument in the hand of Ministers and officials. Lord Carnarvon has since the former pages were written gone to "that bourne from whence no traveller returns." To him the praise or blame of men is immaterial. South

African disasters, Australian land ventures, federation of the colonies, will vex his soul no more.

One actor in that terrible historic drama yet remains. Sir Robert Herbert still lives, and controls the destinies of the Colonial Office. Perhaps the principal responsibility rests upon his shoulders. The errors of judgment which were committed, the deplorable want of foresight betrayed by all concerned, must cloud the memory of those public men to whose account history will place this tragedy. Probably notwithstanding the elevation of Sir Robert to the peerage, future generations will hold him guilty of conduct which amounted to a gigantic blunder, if not to a political crime.

Book the Eighth.

SIR GEORGE GREY'S LIFE IN NEW ZEALAND, 1870—1892.

CHAPTER LI.

KAWAU.

“How blest is he who crowns in shades like these
A youth of labour with an age of ease.”

Goldsmith.

FOR three years Sir George Grey remained in quiet retirement at Kawau. This island, some five miles by two, is situated eight or nine leagues from Auckland, to the northward of the Hauraki Gulf. It lies about four miles from the mainland, and contains several harbours, in one of which a whole navy could anchor, safe from every wind. Half a century back copper was worked upon the beach; and the shafts filled with clear sea water still remain, silent witnesses to the busy throng once gathered there.

Kawau is one mass of low hills, in a few spots lifting themselves to a greater height. It abounds in beautiful scenery. Upon the rocky coast the Pacific, clear and blue as the sapphire skies above, rolls its waves gently. A dwelling-house, replete with every comfort and many luxuries, is sheltered in a small bay. Round the house, in gardens, orchards, and plantations, is the most varied and most complete

collection of trees in the world. From every part of the earth Sir George had obtained choice specimens of trees and plants. It was unrivalled. Travellers coming from distant regions saw with surprise and delight the familiar foliage, flowers, and fruits of home growing with more than native vigour upon this far off strand.

Within the mansion the same rule obtained. The walls were hung with pictures painted by great masters during many centuries. In the entrance hall and upon the stairways were clustered the weapons and the ornaments of a hundred islands in the Southern Ocean. Books, rare and precious, of all ages and in all tongues, adorned the shelves. The windows looked down upon a sea so calm that its waves never raised their tones above a whispered song.

All that gilds life with refinement, all that can inspire the human soul with love for the beautiful and true in nature and in art was found in that lonely paradise. It is a spot once seen never to be forgotten. In that calm and secluded corner of the earth, where the fierce din of conflict was unheard and the roar of worldly tumult was softened to a drowsy murmur, life's tide swept calmly by.

But the beautiful solitude of the island was daily broken. This is an age of travel. Duty, pleasure, illness, art, science, literature, politics, religion, athletics, discovery, and a score of other causes urge people nowadays to and fro upon the earth's broad surface. Australia and New Zealand figure largely as resorts for those voyagers, vulgarly termed "globe trotters." How large a section of those who visited New Zealand went to Kawau to see Sir George Grey it is impossible to say. Their name was legion, for they were many. Soldiers who had fought in many lands, sailors whose ships had breasted the surges of

every sea, went there. Poets wrote beneath the shady trees, artists sketched sitting on the rocks or on the grass lawns by the sea. Novelists drew inspiration from the glorious sunlight and fresh breath of the great Pacific. Historians canvassed there the records of ancient states, and drew parallels between England and old Rome. There statesmen took counsel with their host upon the rapid changes of modern politics, and forecasted the probabilities of the days to come. Missionaries there told of sufferings endured and triumphs won among the savage races of the earth. Lovers went there and dreamed of paradise. There great scholars discussed the achievements of the modern schools, and compared them with the triumphs of the Athenians. The disappointed and the vanquished went for consolation, the triumphant and victorious for sympathy and praise.

There, too, on all holiday and gala days would the people and children of Auckland flock in armies. It would be difficult to imagine a more charming picture than Kawau presented on such an occasion.

The glorious framework of nature; the brightly-clad troops of merry children; the host benignant and hospitable, especially to the little ones, whom he loved; the servants of the establishment, staid but respectful, like retainers of some ancient baron; the merry laughter, the joyous sunlight of a thousand happy eyes—these may be described: but the deep happiness, the untroubled bliss of the children, cannot be depicted by pen or pencil.

Alas that such a condition of things should pass away! The halcyon days of Kawau are ended. Nevertheless, for nearly twenty years Sir George Grey's island home was one of the happiest and most perfect spots upon the earth.

It was there that he welcomed Prince Alfred on his

voyage in the *Galatea*, and renewed the friendship commenced twelve years before in, England, and South Africa. Not the least claim which the Prince had to the regard and esteem of the people of Auckland was the affectionate respect with which he evidently regarded this friend and host of his youth.

It was there that the Maori King, Tawhiao, who was about to visit England, came to ask Sir George's advice as to his conduct, when Sir George, knowing the weakness of the savage prince, became a total abstainer in order to prevail upon Tawhiao, to do the same. With tears the Maori King pledged his word to the ex-Governor, and that word was royally kept. Never once upon his trip to England did Tawhiao touch spirituous liquors.

It was from Kawau, in 1880, that Sir George wrote a long letter of advice to Malietoa, the Samoan King—then hard-pressed by the Germans—which, in the light of subsequent events, seems like a prophecy, by which advice Malietoa was guided, so that now from being a captive he is a king once more, while his all-powerful foe, Prince Bismarck, has fallen from power into private life.

After so many years of extreme activity, both bodily and mental, it would have seemed appropriate that at Kawau Sir George should end his days, "the world forgetting, by the world forgot." But meanwhile circumstances were transpiring in New Zealand which ultimately drew him from his delightful retirement into the busy arena of political strife.

CHAPTER LII. "

SIR JULIUS VOGEL'S PUBLIC WORKS POLICY.

"An ill-favoured thing, sir, 'but mine own."

As You Like It.

THE New Zealand colonists were a bold and adventurous race. The blood of the Norse Vikings, the spirit of daring ancestors, filled them, and it must be confessed that the same lust of strife and gain which distinguished the fathers was plainly developed in the children. Saxon, Dane, and Norman, all had similar tendencies. The men who made our name famous in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries were men of the same character. Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, and Frobisher, Clive and Hastings, were all alike hard-handed, hard-headed adventurers, always ready for conflict and for plunder. Eager for excitement, they were ready to adopt any plan which promised to increase wealth and to set the streams of Pactolus flowing.

After the stirring scenes of the Maori war were over, it was but natural that some other opportunity should arise for the indulgence of the dominant craving.

In 1870, Mr. Vogel presented to the colony of New Zealand a scheme of borrowing and expenditure called "The Public Works and Immigration Policy." No sooner had the proposals been publicly accepted

than it became evident that 'great constitutional changes were certain to be effected.' Doubtful as to the result, people in Auckland turned naturally to Sir George Grey as the only person likely to afford advice and assistance when necessary. Meetings were held, and a deputation waited upon him at Kawau requesting him to accept the position of Superintendent of the Province of Auckland.

It was, of course, a matter of doubt as to whether a man who had held such high offices would condescend to fill a post so greatly inferior in rank.

The deputation had not long to wait. They found the ex-Governor willing to occupy any position in which he could be useful to the colony and its people. Elected to the Superintendency of the Province, he was next requested to take a seat in the House of Representatives.

A special reason existed for this new step. The advocates of the borrowing system found that the existence of the Provincial institutions and Legislatures stood in the way of a complete centralised system of public borrowing, and it was determined to abolish the provinces.

This struck at the root of local self-government in the colony, and the adherents of that principle prepared to gird up their loins for the coming struggle. They called upon the framer of the Constitution to come forward in defence of his own creation. Nor did they call in vain. Grey, always ready at the call of duty, cheerfully responded. If he could not wield the baton of a field-marshal, he could carry a musket in the ranks. To him the position he occupied was not equal in importance to the merits of the quarrel in which he fought.

The year 1874 beheld the unparalleled sight of one who had been a Governor for nearly thirty years

taking his place as a private member in a colonial House of Representatives.

His efforts were for the time in vain. The tide of the money-borrowing spirit had set in, and nothing could withstand its flood. The constituencies were like tigers which had tasted blood—they would have more.

Every safeguard was swept away,—local self-government and local responsibility; the devotion of specific loans to specific objects; the certainty of reproductive expenditure of the borrowed millions. All were overthrown and disregarded. The prudent were called pessimists; the cautious fools. Sound judgment was at a discount, and economy became hateful. The destruction of the provincial Government in New Zealand threw all power into the hands of the central authority. The borrowing and squandering mania spread. Instead of the ten millions which originally dazzled and startled the minds of colonists, over thirty millions were borrowed and spent by the Colonial Government. Harbour Boards, County Councils, Municipal Bodies, and Road Boards were invited and empowered to borrow. Millions were wasted by the General Government in useless works, or expended in purchasing political influence. Hundreds of thousands were, in the same spirit, thrown into the sea by Harbour Boards. The country became demoralised, and it was fairly represented by the majority in Parliament.

The legislation of the period in question—from 1870 to 1890—was generally bad. On some important points it was incessantly changing, and incessantly changing for the worse.

It would be useless, as well as uninteresting to the general reader, to wade through the history of twenty years of mostly corrupt legislation by which New

Zealand was disgraced during this period. Communities and Parliaments without traditions, and without clearly defined political principles and parties, must be always liable to abuse of power and the prostitution of political influence for the accomplishment of private ends. And the liability to travel in erratic courses and in the tortuous paths of intrigue was increased by the unexampled profusion of the borrowed money which was scrambled for in the New Zealand Parliament during that time. An average population of 400,000 people, in addition to the collection and expenditure of the largest revenue in the world per head of the community, borrowed and spent £40,000,000 of public money in less than twenty years.

Great Britain, with an average population of 36,000,000, had she kept equal pace with her young child in the Pacific, would have added to her national debt during these two decades £3,600,000,000.

Against the influence exerted by the disbursement of such great treasures, wisdom, foresight, and prudence were unavailing. The *auri sacra fames*—the accursed thirst for gold—which has been the ruin of men and nations, and which is declared in Holy Writ to be “the root of all evil,” seized upon New Zealand and held its sway during this whole period. Were it not that the colony is full of the wealth of Nature, that its resources are practically boundless, such a burden would be intolerable, and would ensure national bankruptcy.

Although the elasticity of a young country, and the rapid increase of a wealth-producing population will doubtless enable New Zealand to bear this burden lightly—at any rate when a few years have passed—the immediate concomitant of such a financial debauch was that political reform was paralysed, and

the onward progress of the community in social matters absolutely stayed.

The efforts continuously made by Sir George Grey in all things great and noble were in vain. In 1877 he became premier of the colony which he had twice governed. Even with the power and influence which this position gave, he was unable to carry his measures or accomplish his desires. A few alterations and reforms which he effected were swept from the Statute Book, when, after a short period of office, he was betrayed by his professed supporters and defeated.

On his defeat he still continued to act as a private member until the year 1890, when he retired, owing to illness, being then nearly eighty years of age.

CHAPTER LIII.

PRINCIPAL LEGISLATIVE REFORMS ADVOCATED BY SIR GEORGE GREY, M.H.R. .

“ Then to side with truth is noble, when we share her wretched
crust
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be
just ;
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit till his Lord is crucified.”
Lowell.

THE principal points to which Sir G. Grey has attempted to direct legislation during the last ten years have all tended to widen the power of the democracy, and to destroy monopoly. Two of his attempts have become embodied in Acts passed by the Legislature.

THROWING OPEN THE ENTRANCE TO THE PROFESSION OF THE LAW.

The legal profession in New Zealand was only nominally divided into the two well-known branches, barristers and solicitors. Solicitors were entitled by law to practise at the bar, and barristers had the option of practising as solicitors also. Admission as a solicitor was only to be obtained after many years' service under articles, as in England. To entitle a student to be called to the bar, he must have spent three years in the necessary studies, in imitation of keeping terms and eating dinners at one of the Inns of Court.

The legal profession, therefore, was, as in England, a close monopoly. Sir George felt that in a young colony greater facilities should be given, as in the United States, and as in the olden days of Athens and Rome, to those who were naturally capable of assuming the position of an advocate. He perceived that many young men of industry and talent were shut out from the advantages offered by the liberal profession of the law, and that such men were thus hindered from pursuing an honourable career, and the community was debarred from the benefits arising from their ability.

After continuous effort during several years Sir George managed at length to pass a "Law Practitioners Act," which threw open the practice of both branches of the profession to every man of good reputation who could pass the necessary examinations, and so the law remains. An honourable ambition has spurred many young men to extra and arduous work, and the gates of a brilliant career in life have been opened to all who choose to enter.

THE FRANCHISE.

The franchise was conferred upon all male adults of good character within the colony. There were, however, different qualifications—residential and freehold. The bulk of the voters were so by virtue of their manhood and residential qualifications; but there were many owners of property who claimed under the freehold franchise.

The elector whose franchise was residential could be but on one electoral roll, that for the district in which he resided; while the freeholder might possess land in a dozen different districts and have his name on as many electoral rolls. During a general election this state of things enabled landed proprietors to

vote on the same day in many districts, and not infrequently elections were turned by this system of plural voting.

After many arduous conflicts Sir George Grey succeeded in altering the law, so that at a general election one voter should have but one vote. Thus, although the name of an elector may still remain upon numerous electoral rolls, he must choose one district in which to vote. That one vote having been recorded, a vote given by him in another district would be a breach of the law, making him amenable to fine and imprisonment as well as disfranchisement.

ELECTIVE GOVERNORS.

In other matters of legislation equally desired by Sir George Grey he was unable to gain success. It had long been his belief that the Governors of the great colonies should be *elected by the people*. In this, however, Sir George was not able to secure a sufficient following, although year by year the number of adherents to the principle of elective governors increased.

LAND TAX.

During his Premiership in 1877-78, Sir George had established a Land Tax, which his opponents, on succeeding to office, had converted to a Property Tax. To both sides it was clearly apparent that while a Land Tax, especially upon large estates, might, and under the pressure of growing public burdens probably would, be increased from time to time, a Property Tax, which was practically paid by the masses of the people, would not be so likely to be enlarged in amount.

During the ten years between 1880 and 1890, Sir George Grey's efforts were unremitting to re-establish

the Land Tax. There was another active motor in his mind urging him strongly in this direction.

He had, for many years, been convinced that that increase of value in land which John Stuart Mill, in consultation with himself, had termed the "unearned increment," belonged not to the individual owner of the particular piece of land itself, but to the community whose presence and labour had given to the land such increased value. Upon a modified scale, therefore, he was conducting a warfare against the monopoly of land values, similar to that which was commenced by Gournay and Quesney under Louis XV. in France; and carried on by Mr. Wallace in England, and to a still greater extent by Henry George in America.

The landed and financial interests were too strong for him to overcome. But he uttered many eloquent "vindications of the principle for which he contended, and without doubt sowed the seed of a future beneficial harvest for the people of New Zealand.

In the debates which took place at the time of his imposition of a land tax, Sir George Grey fiercely attacked that abuse of public influence by which some of the leading provincial politicians had perverted the trust of the public lands confided to them, into machinery for appropriating to themselves great estates in fraud of the people. Upon two methods by which this was accomplished he was especially severe. These were known by the names of "gridironing" and "spotting." It was in allusion to the system of "gridironing" that in his speech in the House of Representatives, on October 3rd, 1878, on the Land Tax Bill, Sir George thus spoke: "I believe that the system of administering the land which we propose will be admitted by the country to be just and beneficial. Consider, by the way of contrast, the system

of land administration which has proceeded in Canterbury. How eminently unjust was that! The Government was practically saying while that existed: 'Come here, all men. In this favoured province you shall roam where you please. Pick out any spot which is fitted for your purposes, which is pleasing to your eyes, and you may become the owners by paying £2 per acre for it. The whole country lies open to you.' Then for the convenience of their surveys they say to the intending purchaser, 'You must not take a less extent of land than twenty acres, because the cost of the survey is very great.'

"How did people who wished to acquire large tracts of land interpret that? They took a road-line, and for some distance behind that line they had long sections laid out parallel to the road, and then they divided the country-side between the road and the long sections parallel to it into sections, one of twenty acres, then one of nineteen acres and so on. Then when the poor man who had saved a little money to buy a small farm, went out to select his land and choose a section he longed for, and came back to the Land Office and said: 'I will take that section'; he was told, 'You cannot select it, for it is less than twenty acres.'

"Again, perhaps, he went, his loss of time and his toil in like manner to be lost, and himself made ridiculous. Then he was perhaps told that these nineteen-acre sections might be put up to auction. How poor his chance in competition at auction with a wealthy land owner who owned the land on three sides of the section the man of small means wished to acquire!"

Sir George Grey was displeased and astonished at the fact, that men holding great public positions should use those positions for their own aggrandise-

ment. One of the deepest and strongest causes of the enmity with which he was regarded by many of his political opponents was found in the persistent denunciations which he uttered against the wrongdoing of themselves and their friends in this way. If it should be thought that Sir George Grey was mistaken, either in his facts or in the necessary deductions therefrom, it is sufficient to show that other men of position and influence, and not disposed to view such transactions from the same standpoint as Sir George Grey, admitted the facts upon which he had reasoned. An appropriate illustration of this may be given in the following extract from "Lectures on a Visit to the Canterbury Colony,"* by Lord Lyttelton:—

"Nominally anyone might come in and buy any of these lands over the squatter's head, but besides that in these remote places it would not be worth buying, the early squatters had what was called 'a pre-emptive right' to buy at a fixed price of £2 per acre such parts of the land as they had made improvements upon. They used to 'spot,' as it was called, these improvements on different parts of the run—the effect being that the intermediate parts were valueless without them, and these they thus secured."

To one, who through his long course of public power, had deemed it improper to acquire an acre of land in a colony where his presence and authority might be supposed to afford him exceptional opportunities, and whose first principle in regard to the lives of public men was that their hands should be absolutely clean, such conduct was naturally abhorrent. And the fierceness of his attacks against individuals and political parties, believed by him to be

* Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., London, 1868, p. 31.

guilty of such practices, drew forth storms of anger which were never laid to rest.

INCOME TAX.

The property tax, as framed and sustained by his political opponents, did not touch the yearly income of those whose revenue arose either from their own personal exertions, or from any other cause. It was assessed upon the value of property, irrespective of whether the property yielded an income or not.

Sir George Grey contended that all persons who derived an income in any way from the colony of New Zealand should bear an equitable and just proportion of its public burdens. As this would have levied taxation upon many within the colony who escaped, and would also have called upon all those who, living in other lands, derived a revenue either from the public purse of New Zealand, or from private investments, it provoked stormy and bitter discussions, in which he was constantly accused of advocating a policy which was both dishonourable and inexpedient. But eventually the arguments used by Sir George Grey must prevail, because they are founded upon truth.

And Sir George perceived that there was contained in the assertion of this principle of taxation a deeper and yet more important meaning than the mere levying of taxation for the public purposes of the colony. He saw that there could be no true federation of the Empire unless its different parts were placed upon an equal footing, nor until there was a common bond of advantage and liability uniting the different members of this great family of nations.

And if the English creditor and investor in New Zealand were to occupy the position of a resident in the colony, participating in its advantages and helping

to bear its burdens, then, and then only, would the web be firmly woven which bound the whole of the different parts together.

Thus to his mind justice and expediency both pointed to the propriety of the course which he proposed. And although he failed to carry his measures in this direction, he was confident that the public mind was sufficiently enlightened and determined to ensure the success of his plans within a moderate period of time.

LAND SETTLEMENT.

Recognising the fact that the welfare of a new country depends upon the profitable settlement of its lands, especially by a class of small yeomanry, he was always in favour of peasant and small farm holdings. Year after year he attempted to bring forward in the House of Representatives his "Land for Settlement Bill," which provided among other things for the purchase of large estates from private owners for the purpose of cutting them up into smaller holdings, and for giving assistance by the advance of Government debentures, secured upon such lands, to *bona-fide* settlers, thus utilising the public credit towards the productive settlement of the country, and the absorption of surplus population upon the land.

NATIONALISING THE COAL MINES.

Sir George Grey believed that the State might with advantage resume the possession and keep the control of all the coalfields and mines in the colony; that then, producing coal at the cheapest possible rate, it would foster manufactures and increase all facilities for commerce. In this, as in other directions, he believed that a co-operative system of industry, adopted and supported by the Government, would be

of incalculable advantage, and would possibly prepare the way for a wiser and better economy than that provided by the intense individualism and competition, which, while they have pushed our modern civilisation rapidly forward, have brought in their train the menacing host of labour difficulties which threaten the existence of society. And in this belief he was strengthened by his own personal observation of the circumstances attending the Australasian strike in 1890.

CHAPTER LIV.

FEDERATION OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES.

"Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle flags were
furled,

In the parliament of man, the 'federation of the world.'"

Locksley Hall.

THE idea of federation had, long before "Locksley Hall" was given to the world, been conceived in the mind of Sir George Grey. He saw afar off the fulfilment of the promises made in the Holy Scriptures, that a day of peace should dawn upon the earth, when the nations should learn war no more. But believing, as he did, that God, in His providential government of the earth, used human instrumentalities for the accomplishment of His purposes, Grey ever worked towards the first great step in a federation of the nations by striving for a federation of the English-speaking peoples.

In 1890 he was requested by the Parliament of New Zealand to attend the meeting of the Federal Convention of Australasia in Sydney. He accepted the task thus imposed, joyfully, and, though recently prostrated by sickness, was sufficiently recovered to attend the sitting of the Convention in March, 1891.

Accompanied by his niece, Mrs. Seymour George, and her eldest daughter, he left Auckland on February 26th, in the Tarawera, which next day called at the Bay of Islands. Many years had elapsed since his last visit to this historic spot. His first welcome

on arrival was given by a native, who claimed a friendship of thirty years. The Maori's appearance was not very prepossessing, and the fastidious shrank from him, but the ex-Governor chatted with him most cordially.

Directly he landed Sir George Grey bought a number of ferns, and carrying them in his hands, walked to the little grave-yard where so many gallant officers and men were laid to sleep. His gift was destined for the grave of his old friend Tamati Waka Nene. Planting the delicate ferns on that hallowed spot of earth, he spoke to some of the Maoris who had assembled of the loyalty, bravery, and true heart of the friendly chief. Some time he paused there, with many pictures rising in his memory. And then, having left instructions that the grave should be attended to, enforced by his appeal to their memories of Tamati and of himself, he returned to the steamer and pursued his way to Australia.

His arrival in Sydney was marked by a very cordial reception. Nearly fifty years had passed since he had last trodden Australian soil. While entering the beautiful harbour of Port Jackson, his memory recalled that day (in December, 1837) when he had landed for the first time in Western Australia. In the fifty-three years which had intervened, a family of young nations had been born upon the Island Continent. Great cities had been built upon sites then lonely and untenanted. The few scattered hamlets of that early period had grown into mighty centres of population.

It was remarked by more than one Australian paper that Grey linked the present to the very foundations of Australasian existence. For, without doubt, he had met and known men who had taken part in the first settlement of New South Wales.

Many of the delegates were born in the colonies they represented at the Conference. All of them were familiar with the name and reputation of the veteran statesman who, after the lapse of nearly half a century, had thus returned to Australia. But few of them had ever before met him. Middle-aged and grey-haired men, whose energies for a generation have been devoted to the advancement of the Southern Continent, were lisping their first words or crowing lustily in their cradles when Grey, having rendered such illustrious service to South Australia, sailed from Adelaide in 1845.

But there was one of the representatives of that colony at the Federal Convention who could boast a personal acquaintance with the former Governor. Addressing Grey he said: "You do not remember me, Sir George, but you form one of the most distinct of my childish memories. Fifty years ago I was present at a children's party you gave at Government House in Adelaide. There was a magic lantern entertainment, but I saw very little of it till you lifted me high in your arms and held me that I might get a good view."

In the discussions of the Convention, Sir George Grey was not always satisfied with the conclusions of the majority. Although the Convention was, on the whole, characterised by broad lines of policy, imperial considerations, and high principle, yet the greater experience of Grey made him fearful that the foundations of liberty would not be laid sufficiently wide or deep.

Amid all that was changed, he was still the same. The same purposes, the same hopes, the same earnest desire for the welfare of his fellow-men and the generations yet to be, were his as had strengthened him in the disasters and privations of his terrible explora-

tion. And the same bright anticipations of the future filled his mind as when, upon his march from Shark Bay to Perth, he beheld in fancy the desert being changed into fruitful fields and the wilderness becoming instinct with busy life.

His ideas concerning Federation were not exactly similar to those expressed by many of the leading statesmen of Australasia. He did not believe in a hard and fast union, regulated by law, between States dissimilar in character, separated by great distances, and existing under different climates and conditions. He rather favoured a looser federation, which should leave each portion of the confederated States free to work out its own destiny and should yet enable all to join together for any great purpose; and so, in any crisis or sudden exigence, give to the whole that strength and solidity which springs from union.

He made no secret of his belief that confederation in Canada, in Australasia, in South Africa, were but steps in the progress of the great movement which should ultimately bring together the different branches of that family of nations which he had ever believed was destined, in the providence of God, to guide the races of the earth into the ways of righteousness and peace.

The likelihood of peace resulting from such a union of the English-speaking peoples was thus spoken of by Sir George Grey himself:—"The state of the nations of Europe renders it necessary they should maintain large armies, thus diminishing their power to maintain large navies. If Great Britain was free from all European perplexities, she would have far greater means of maintaining a large navy if such a thing was necessary. The United States hardly require an army and navy, and her want for these will diminish every year. The united English-speak-

ing people would require really no army if they were masters of the ocean, and they could without the least oppression or embarrassment maintain a navy which would render them supreme on the oceans of the world, and prevent the smallest possibility of sudden invasion or attack."

Sir George Grey had spoken with many Australians who were in favour of such a federation as he proposed, and held that, with a common language, a common literature, a common legislation, which it really is, and a common faith existing between all English-speaking communities, it was their duty to unite to give to the world at large the vast benefits which must spring from such a union.

Recognising thus the supreme importance of this crisis in the history of the Australian colonies, it was but natural that Sir George should desire the constitution of the confederated states to be as just and as liberal as possible. His intense longing to see the federation of his dreams established led him to refuse unconditionally a meaner substitute. Should this great and glorious opportunity to form a union of nations which might

"Serve as a model for the mighty world,
And be the fair beginning of a time,"

be lost in the consideration of trivial details—nay, worse, actually debased into an occasion for stifling the popular liberties, and for laying the yoke of servitude upon the necks of these young communities? It should not be—not while he had the power to lift his voice in impassioned appeal against such an abuse of a heaven-sent privilege.

The veteran statesman would not passively consent to the adoption of measures whose inevitable result would be the direct antithesis of the objects which his life had been spent in promoting. His practised eye

foresaw the future, either filled with ever-widening liberty and happiness, honour and prosperity for succeeding generations of the children of Australasia ; or presenting a picture of oppression and self-seeking, which was hateful to his soul. If the inadequate proposals of the majority at the Convention were carried into effect, he could see that the coming years would bring ever-growing political inequality, with its inseparable evils, insecurity and decadence of the states. Gazing down this vista, his prophetic glance ran unchecked to the time when he should be forced to echo that sad epitomé of noble hopes frustrated :

“ Till the loathsome opposite
Of all my heart had destined did obtain.”

Some of his ideas were naturally regarded by the majority as visionary and fanciful.

As the English Government had held him in the matters of the Dominion of the Southern Ocean and the confederation of South Africa to be a dreamer ; as the Liberal party in England, headed by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, had impatiently chafed at his suggestions for emigration, the consolidation of the Empire, and Home Rule for Ireland ; as his opponents in New Zealand had taunted him with seeking to legislate for “ the unborn millions ”—so many of his fellow-workers in the Federal Conference feared that Sir George Grey was attempting to create an Utopia, and neglecting somewhat the practical solution of the task which lay before them.

The Convention had been sitting for a month when the clause relating to the qualification of electors came under discussion. The preceding clause of the Commonwealth of Australia Bill provided that “ each State shall have one representative for every thirty thousand of its people,” qualified by the proviso that no State should have less than four representatives

until its population reached the required numbers. On investigation it appeared that the voting powers were not uniform throughout the different colonies. The members of the House of Representatives in the Federal Convention were to be elected by each State in conformity with the usual method of election to the local parliament, the qualification of electors of members of the former chamber being in each colony that which was prescribed by the law of the colony as the qualification for electors of the latter.

But here a grave injustice^o was apparent, for New Zealand and South Australia enjoyed the advantages of manhood suffrage, while in most of the other colonies a system of plural voting gave the propertied classes a great and unfair preponderance of power. Their representatives were elected, not by a majority of the population, but by the votes of a wealthy minority. In some colonies where regulations existed to prevent an elector appearing at more than one polling booth to record his vote on the day of election, it was quite legal for him to vote by letter in any district in which he owned property. Thus one man might record fifteen or twenty votes. Sir George Grey knew from experience how little attention the just demands of a minority, fairly representing the people of smaller States, would receive at the hands of an overwhelming majority returned as the representatives of capital. Therefore he vehemently opposed a federation on such terms, and eloquently advocated the amendment of the suffrage in *all* the States, by removing the property qualification, and allowing each elector only one vote.

The conservative tendency of the Federal Bill was intensified (1) By the constitution of the Senate, which was to be elected by the members of Parliament, most of whom were returned under the system of

plural voting, or nominated by successive colonial governments; and (2) by the appointment of a Governor-General with a salary of not less than £10,000, chosen by the Imperial authorities.

Sir George moved as an amendment to the last provision, that this great officer, whose salary would not be less, and perhaps far more than that of the President of the United States, should be elected by the voices of the four millions of people over whom he was to rule. In the course of his earnest speech, he said: "I ask is it just, while so many poor people have to be taxed to pay their share of that salary, to deprive them of the honour, and, I may say, of the just pride of themselves electing some worthy man, known throughout so great an extent of country as Australia, to occupy that honourable post, with the certainty that such an example will operate upon every individual of the community, stirring noble faculties in many men, giving hope, perhaps to some thousand or more of the people that they may possibly attain to such an honour? Is it right to make the people pay such sums of money, and to deprive them of honours to which they ought justly and rightly to look? And when, as I shall prove by-and-bye, as we go on with the Bill, each office is closed by some restriction or other to all chance of fair competition in the country, let us, at the very first, indicate in this clause, that this great office shall be open at all times to that man in Australia who is deemed the greatest, and worthiest and fittest to hold so noble a post, and to satisfy his fellow-citizens that they have wisely chosen one who will be an honour to the whole community. Can any of us believe that if at the time of the disturbances in the United States in regard to slavery, a man had to be chosen by the British Ministry of the day in London, there was the

slightest hope that such a man as Lincoln would have come to the front to achieve the great and noble objects which he accomplished? I am sure the universal admission must be that there would have been no hope of such a thing. Yet from the forests of the United States, there came one who had been a mere splitter of timber, worthy, justly and rightly, to exercise the highest power for a time in the United States, and to accomplish the great ends at which he aimed. Are we in Australia to be told that we can find no man worthy to succeed to a post of that kind?"

The view taken by the majority that a Governor-General appointed in Great Britain would introduce an aristocratic element into colonial society, and that his chief obligations would be the performance of social duties, roused the spirit of the real aristocrat at such openly avowed snobbishness. The meaning of the term "social duties" as used in this connection he confessed himself unable to understand. With deep emotion, he sketched a career—such as he knew more than one instance of—of a young girl, friendless and poor, by dint of ability and incessant toil distinguishing herself in the schools, and ultimately taking the highest honours which the universities had it in their power to bestow. Left a widow, with a young family, her days were spent in training her children to be an ornament and a treasure to the State. Was he to be told that this was not a performance of social duties? He continued:

"Considering the openings that would be given to every inhabitant of Australasia under such a system as I propose, with so many families as will necessarily do it, directing their every exertion and effort to raise up children worthy of the great opportunities laid open to them, I ask whether this is not to us a greater social question than a few balls and dinners given at

Government House, at which none but those in the immediate vicinity can be present? I ask what comparison is there between these two things—one great and far-reaching, extending to millions, the other a mere sham, as it were, representing what passes in another place, as if one were looking through the wrong end of a telescope at some procession that was going on? All matters connected with Government House are diminished here as compared with Great Britain and the influence exercised there. There it is the influence of a hereditary monarch descended from a long line of ancestors. There it is the influence belonging to certain professions—the army and navy—who look to receiving honour from the hands of such a sovereign. Here there are no ties whatever of that kind; and yet for a mere imaginary show, or what is called the performance of social duties—entertaining strangers, and also citizens immediately surrounding the vice-regal court, which are the only benefits that are absolutely gained—all those benefits that I speak of are lost.”

The debate waxed warm. Sir George Grey was accused of disloyalty, of impracticability, of unmeaning declamation, of bringing his views forward too early, of having lost the proper opportunity of advocating them, of springing a surprise, of becoming tiresome by repeated allusions to the subject, and of many other misdemeanours equally inconsistent and irreconcilable. A division was called for. It was not the custom for the delegates to leave the chamber, but to repair to opposite sides. Quietly the most aged member of the convention turned, walked to one side of the hall, and sat down alone. All the other members of the convention, in a body, proceeded to range themselves opposite him. But at the sight of that calm, noble figure, that sorrowful bowed head,

one representative of South Australia faltered, and after a moment's hesitation firmly retraced his steps and seated himself beside Sir George Grey. His example was instantly followed by another delegate from the same colony. And thus between two representatives of young Australia—Dr. Cockburn and Mr. Kingston—supported on one side by a doctor of medicine and on the other by a Queen's Counsel, Grey found himself in a minority of three, while his amendment was rejected by thirty-five voices.

Macaulay sang the story of "the dauntless three" who kept the bridge against the Tuscan host for the liberty of Rome in the brave days of old. The same spirit was displayed by Grey and his two companions as animated Horatius, when Spurius Lartius and Herminius took their stand by his side and calmly defied the whole array of their foemen.

CHAPTER LV.

A SERIES OF OVATIONS.

" Turn him to any cause of policy,
The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,
Familiar as his garter: that, when he speaks,
The air, a charter'd libertine, is still,
And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,
To steal his sweet and honey'd sentences."

King Henry V.

AFTER the dissolution of the Conference on the 9th of April, Sir George Grey spent two months travelling in Australia. His tour was a triumphal progress. Each city through which he passed welcomed him with manifestations of enthusiasm and veneration. He yielded to many of the requests made through influential deputations, and delivered addresses in various centres.

Thousands listened spell-bound to the pathetic vibration of his voice, inculcating the love of justice, the beauty of goodness, the grandeur of a noble life, and eloquently depicting the glorious possibilities which depended on the purposes and actions of the men to whom he spoke. Many of them will never forget his teachings. Some will doubtless follow in his steps, act in the way he has pointed out, and repeat in their lives the influence he exerted upon them.

Convinced that the Federal Bill as passed by the Convention was not calculated to provide for the highest liberty and well-being of the people, Sir

George used all the weight of argument to prevent its acceptance. 'He urged that in proportion as they valued the great privilege of framing their own Constitution held out to them by the Mother Country, so firmly should they resist any half measures. He pointed out that while other nations had only gained such an opportunity after ages and centuries of struggling, and after long and bloody wars, Australia enjoyed it as a free gift. Yet he would advise them to reject Federation, though it was the dearest wish of their hearts, unless it could be obtained under perfectly just and liberal provisions. They had a chance such as came but once in two or three centuries, and never more than once to any nation. Their longing for a Federal Constitution would only make their action more heroic in refusing to accept any form of government but the noblest.

The various deficiencies in the Bill, its conservative and aristocratic tendency, its unjust and unequal provisions for the expression of their views by the great mass of the people, the nominee character of its second legislative chamber, the hard and fast law which declared that the Bill must be accepted or rejected as a whole, were chiefly dwelt on by the "old man eloquent." Leaving the minor questions of commercial interests and expediency, he opposed the draft Constitution on great principles. If it were adopted by the different states and became binding, he believed the Australian race would hamper itself with a yoke which it might require a century to cast off, during which time the national development would be arrested and dwarfed.

Sir George Grey's Australian tour roused the democratic feeling everywhere. His speeches were like sparks to tinder. The popular sentiments wanted a voice and found it in him. On one question, espe-

cially, his arguments carried conviction to the hearts of the majority, and consternation to those of more than one colonial ministry. That question was universal and equal suffrage—one man, one vote.

The constant allusion made by him to the necessity of reform in the voting powers of Australian colonists was severely criticised by many of the leading journals. It was said that he was always dragging in the "One man, one vote" theory, in season and out of season. Very little notice was taken of his arguments at the Convention, and it was asserted that no object would be gained by his advocacy of the movement. And yet, within a few months, the Government of Victoria had the consideration of this question forced upon it, and that of New South Wales was upset upon it.

The marvellous effect which his addresses produced upon the people of Australia was well and graphically summarised by one of the Colonial journals: "In the course of a few short weeks this physically feeble old man, but morally powerful giant, has revolutionised public opinion from one end of Australia to the other. He has imbued a whole people with a vital principle, embodying the noble ideal of the equality of man. So deeply has he instilled, and so firmly has he implanted, the principle of 'one man, one vote,' in the sentiment and mind of the masses, that it must for the future be the only basis upon which Australian democracy will consent to any change in the institutions or constitutions of the country. Sir George Grey has advised, nay, he has implored the people to subordinate every other question to the attainment of this one vital principle of the political equality of all men; and happily for Australia, signs are not wanting that his advice is being accepted and acted upon."

Sir George Grey's seventy-ninth birthday was memorable. After an absence of little short of fifty years, he was borne smoothly in a railway carriage into the heart of that beautiful city in South Australia which had been the seat of his government when he laid the foundations of prosperity in that colony. The leading citizens of Adelaide were on the platform to welcome him, some few among the oldest there being able to recall his previous coming among them. Thousands, with tumultuous cheers, thronged the roads by which he drove to the Town Hall.

As he looked upon the handsome buildings, the beautiful gardens, the whole aspect of the town—familiar, yet so changed; as he breathed the invigorating air, and rejoiced in the peculiar glory of the blue skies, what wonder that his heart was overflowing with emotion, that his brain was dizzy, both with the contrast and the likeness of the present to the past. He said he felt like a man who was dreaming, as though the glowing scenes were glorified visions suggested by memories of the past, which would presently fade away. On another occasion he described his feelings as similar to those of a man who had been dead for fifty years, and then had come to life and revisited the scenes of his youth.

At the Town Hall a more formal welcome was tendered. The front seats in the hall were reserved for those colonists who had been in South Australia during his government. Some of these old men were visibly affected by the return of their former Governor and the memories it recalled. As Sir George eagerly scanned their faces, and tried to discover the features of the young men he had known half a century before in the venerable countenances before him, his eyes also filled with tears, and his voice was scarcely audible. He spoke very few words, but those broken,

unstudied utterances went straight to the hearts of his hearers. He was so overcome with emotion as to be unable to proceed.

In the evening a banquet was given by the Mayor of the city in his honour, at which about two hundred of the leading colonists were present. Sir George had in a great measure subdued the emotion which overmastered him at the function in the afternoon and responded at greater length to the kind and flattering speeches made by the local magnates.

His address was mainly directed to the advocacy of a humane and philanthropic policy in the government of nations, as the highest wisdom and the surest guarantee of prosperity. He pointed to the results of the policy he had inaugurated among the natives of South Africa, as opposed to the bloodshed, the loss, and the failure which followed harsher and less just measures. And he asserted that the methods he had adopted in his several governments had been greatly owing to the teachings and influence of the men who had first settled in South Australia, whose descendants he saw that night around him.

His closing words (delivered with such impassioned eloquence that the youthful fire of the spirit gave the lie to the testimony of the eyes which saw the bowed shoulders, the silvery hair, the withered hands) will ring long in the ears of those who heard them. "It is my duty to tell you these truths. It is my duty to tell you what I feel myself—that a time when men sink from old age is to me a period of the greatest joy and comfort that my life has known, in receiving welcomes wherever I go, and in knowing that rewards so far surpassing anything that mortal man could do have fallen upon me. That should satisfy men that these principles which your forefathers brought to this country, which they strove to carry out, are the

true principles which should animate all men, and which you, as their offspring, should adopt and do your utmost in carrying out, thus aiding and conducting the whole world, the Old and the New, through the troublesome times that are evidently before us. If you follow that course you will do your duty, the duty the greatest that for two or three centuries has fallen upon man to perform ; you will bring out nobility and greatness amongst your fellow-men, such as in recent times there has been no opportunity of displaying. This great field is before you. Enter into it. Listen to one who knew your forefathers, and attend to his earnest request, and follow in the steps they would wish you to pursue, and which they pursued themselves while they remained here."

The following evening a great public meeting was held in the Town Hall. Nearly two thousand people were present. The effect when the veteran statesman appeared upon the platform was most impressive. The whole assemblage rose simultaneously, manifesting great enthusiasm. In the afternoon Sir George Grey had attended an even more interesting gathering. This was a meeting to wish success and bid farewell to an exploring party, headed by Mr. David Lindsay, the cost being borne by Sir Thomas Elder. This party was setting out to explore the only district of Central Australia yet untraversed. They were turning the last leaf in the volume whose earliest pages had been cut by Sir George and his contemporaries. Three members of Sturt's expedition were present, and received with hearty applause the remarks which the speaker made about their former leader. Grey said he had been in Adelaide when two earlier exploring parties had set out—one under Eyre and the other under Sturt. Now he was present at the departure of the last of these daring bands. After their

return the world would contain but little unexplored territory. It was well that the nineteenth century should fulfil its peculiar mission, and even with its last years complete the task.† He wished that the final effort might be crowned with greater glory and success than any of the previous ones.

The visit to Adelaide roused other memories, more personal and more pathetic. In the cemetery there Sir George Grey's only child was buried. Had he lived he would have been nearly fifty years of age. During those long decades how often must the mind of the father have pictured that son by his side. The merry winsome child, the honest, healthy schoolboy, the enthusiastic student

“Nourishing a youth sublime

With the fairy tales of science, and the long result of time,”

the man of generous impulses and sober judgment, all must in turn have been present to his imagination. A son to love, to train, to confide in, to study—always a sympathetic companion, a kindred spirit—a character like his own in many ways, but with endearing traits of individuality. All these hopes were buried in the little grave at Adelaide, which the father visited from day to day, and beside which he stood in silent grief.

From Adelaide Sir George proceeded to Broken Hill where he met with a great reception. His next addresses were delivered in Melbourne before the Trades' Hall Council and at an immense public meeting. On his way thence to Sydney, every town through which he passed received him with demonstrations of welcome. In response to a cordial invitation from the Mayor, he broke his journey at Goulburn. Arriving on Saturday, May 23rd, he remained there over Sunday, leaving on Monday morning. In spite of the fatigues of the first day, which, commencing with an

early disembarkation from the train, included a public welcome, a drive round the town, the reception of three deputations and many private friends, Sir George was present at a complimentary banquet, and made a speech at a thronged public meeting in the evening, as clear, as eloquent, and as impressive as any he had given in Australia. This was the fifth address he had delivered that day.

The coping-stone to the triumphal arch of his Australian reception was added at the tremendous meeting held on the following Tuesday in the vast Centennial Hall, which is the largest in any British colony south of the line. The ovation he received was a fitting close to his tour. The great hall—estimated to hold eight thousand persons—was crowded in every part long before eight o'clock, the people beginning to muster as early as half-past six. This was regarded as practically the opening of that grand room for the democratic purposes for which it was built by the people out of the national funds. Hundreds were standing in the galleries, hundreds of tickets for the ladies' gallery were refused prior to the meeting, hundreds—even thousands—assembled outside the doors and in adjoining corridors. The effect was electrical when, on the entrance of the eagerly-expected statesman, the whole audience rose to their feet, waving hats and handkerchiefs, while the cheering was deafening. Those who were present at the receptions given to Mr. Gladstone during his campaign in Midlothian were witnesses of enthusiasm similar to that exhibited on this occasion. It was like the public rejoicing at the return of a victorious general, though unmarred by the tears of the bereaved. An English member of Parliament who was present declared that in all the great meetings he had attended in the Old World, he had never witnessed any equal

in numbers, unanimity, or enthusiasm within the four walls of a building. He considered it "the most magnificent manifestation of the good-will of a people" he had ever seen. "Magnificent is a tame word with which to describe the reception Sir George Grey met with," said the *Australian Star*.

Another newspaper wrote: "The veteran Sir George Grey may be said to have had at the Centennial Hall the other evening as near an approach to what may be called a living apotheosis as ever fell to the lot of mortal."

An account of the scene, written by an eye-witness, presents it very vividly: "A noble spectacle! The grandest that has ever been seen in glorious young Australia! The spectacle of between seven and eight thousand free men and their intelligent wives held spellbound, carried out of themselves, by the magnificent eloquence of one great and good man. . . . Every seat was occupied inside of fifteen minutes from the opening of the doors, and then the wide aisles were packed with men well satisfied to stand for nearly three hours without room to move, so long as their ears could drink in the words of wisdom, sweet inspiring words, that they were certain would be spoken to them. . . ."

"Once filled, the scene presented to the eyes of the gazer from above was a curious and wonderful one. The long rows of chairs with their occupants were broken at each side by the standing throngs, the effect being flats and ridges, almost like the waves and levels of the sea, and like the sea was the incessant moaning, murmuring sound of many thousands of voices echoing through the vaulted dome; and like the surge breaking on a long, level strand, were the intermittent, peculiar roars when the voices were raised in acclaim, and the 'Kentish fire' from many

feet hurled its thunderous echoes through the vast space and out into the wide galleries and corridors beyond. The sight and sound even at this time were unique, but what pen can describe the scene when the grey head and bowed form of the venerable orator appeared ascending the stairs in the centre of the platform? The people rose at him! and cheered again and again. The sound was tremendous, the sight one calculated to stir to its very depths the coldest heart. The mighty throng arose as one, and hats and handkerchiefs were waved in the air, while their owners gave voice to their admiration and affection in ringing cheers that shook the very atmosphere, and made the reeds of the noble and beautiful organ sound a responsive echo.

"After once bowing, and twice repeating it, Sir George sat down, but was compelled to rise twice to again and again acknowledge the ovation he received. And it was quite five minutes before the immense audience settled back into a calm. After the chairman's introductory remarks he introduced the speaker of the evening, who on rising to begin his address had to stand with bowed head, evidently deeply moved, while another storm of cheering arose and subsided. Looking out over that vast sea of faces, all raised expectant, the thoughts that stirred that great mind must have been many and complex. Sir George says himself that the one paramount was the reflection, a sad one, of, 'Alas! how many of this vast multitude will have gone back to the earth from which they sprang without having had the blessing of reaping the benefits, of garnering the harvest, which will spring from the seed we are now sowing.' Then he began his speech in a voice which faltered and trembled, and his first few sentences were not audible far back in the hall. Warming to his subject,

and overcoming his first emotion, however, his tones gained fulness and strength, and very little indeed of the subsequent magnificent oratorical effort was unheard, even in the furthest corners of the huge building. Throughout the whole address there was not one unfriendly sound from the front. The most rapt, respectful attention was exhibited throughout, while the applause which greeted each noble utterance was unanimous and tremendous. The audience was with the speaker throughout, and it may truly be said that the best of seed fell on the richest of soils. The mighty throng felt and knew that the orator spoke words of wisdom and truth. . . . While swaying the crowd at will, he did not exert that will to excite to incendiary thoughts and deeds, but left the minds of all who heard him purified and exalted, calmed and resolved, all in one. The ordinary demagogue excites and irritates; this grand democrat urges, yet soothes, and at the same time leads the straying feet of Demos into the easiest paths to follow to attain his ends.

"Such a hearing is rarely won for a speaker, such a speaker rarely is heard to so deserve it. The fact was clear that the venerable knight not only instructed the minds of his hearers, but he reached and won their hearts, and when he closed the grandest speech Australians have ever heard, he was applauded as no man has ever been before in this or any other Australian city. It is safe to say that not a single individual of the vast multitude which assembled within the walls of the Centennial Hall on Tuesday night will ever forget the privilege he or she enjoyed thereby."

During the course of his address, the appearance of one or two unpopular public men on the platform occasioned a great uproar in the hall. Sir George

seized the opportunity to administer a gentle but just rebuke to those who refused to hear an opponent :

"One good plan," he said, "in our new Commonwealth would be to silence the opinions that you think wrong, or that I think wrong, by fair and open argument, and not by noise."

On the following Friday, Sir George spoke to a great meeting of over three thousand, in Wallsend, and the night after to an equally large assembly in the Newcastle Skating Rink, being received on each occasion with the utmost enthusiasm. His last address in Australia was delivered on Monday, June 1st, to the largest audience that the Gaiety Theatre in Sydney had ever held.

Two days later the "Great Pro-Consul" embarked on the return voyage to New Zealand, after a series of triumphs such as Australia had never yielded to one man before.

There are in the southern regions of Australia, away from the seaboard, vast plains, which stretch from the Murray across the Edwards River, the Murrumbidgee, the Lachlan, and the Darling, hundreds of miles to the west and north and east. After the scorching sun of summer has withered the herbage, they present the appearance of an arid and waste desert, which, were it not for the scattered timber and salt bush, would seem after a period of drought almost as destitute of life as the great alkali plains between the Sierra Nevada and Salt Lake. But there are beneath the surface, waiting only for the reviving influences of moisture, the ever-living roots of various herbage. When the winter rains sweep over those plains, so level that there is no appreciable drainage—as level, in truth, as the sea—the whole scene changes as if by magic. From the hot earth the vapour arises as the soil drinks in greedily the life-

giving stream, and almost in a few hours the dusty, yellow waste is tinged with ever-increasing greenness and verdure. In a few days the plains are brilliant with flowers and rich with herbage. The whole land is changed from a wilderness into a vast field of pasture.

Such was the effect of Sir George Grey's visit to the principal cities of Australia.

There were indeed in the minds of the majority of the Australian people hopes and longings for a better state of things than that which in days gone by produced the Eureka Stockade, and in this day the Shearers' War in Queensland. Some stimulus was necessary to prompt these wishes into practical life. That stimulus was given by the presence and speeches of the ex-Governor of New Zealand. The masses of the people everywhere recognised the uselessness as well as the impropriety of force. Sir George taught them a wiser and a better way. He showed them how, by organisation and by the united use of their privileges as free subjects of the Crown, they might become a force in the Legislatures of their respective colonies potent enough to guide the main lines of legislation. As in New Zealand, in 1846, he had dared the anger of the Imperial Government and the clamours and animosity of New Zealand colonists by refusing to accept for New Zealand an imperfect and unjust Constitution, so in the Convention at Sydney he declined to accept the framework of the Federal Constitution unless it were built upon the broadest basis of popular representation in all parts of the Colonial Federation. Regarded angrily and with ill-disguised contempt by the members of the Convention, he went forth from it to the colonies which it represented.

When, on his departure, the leaders of the labour

movement came down to the wharf to bid Sir George good-bye, there were not a few whose eyes were moist with tears of genuine sympathy and affection. Within a few weeks of his departure the results appeared, and those results were marvellous. Australian politics had undergone a new birth.

The history of the New South Wales elections is typical of the altered state of affairs. Prior to Sir George Grey's arrival in Sydney, and during the sitting of the Convention, Sir Henry Parkes had reached the zenith of his power and popularity. Praise was lavished upon him from all quarters. He was one of the three "empire builders" of whom Mr. Stead made much. The *Times*, ever ready to ignore true genius and to applaud success, contrasted him with Sir George Grey in articles which spoke contemptuously of Grey, but alluded to Sir Henry Parkes in terms which would have been eulogistic if applied to Washington.

What is the position now? A few speeches from Sir George Grey revealing the true and oppressive nature of the proposed Government which they were asked to support, the tortuous and shameful course which they, being free men, were asked to tread, and dwelling upon the glorious future which awaited them if true to themselves and to their country, and Sir Henry Parkes was compelled to adapt his policy to that of his rival and opponent.

Australia is politically regenerated, and an example has been set to the labouring classes of the world which will never be forgotten. Without doubt the example will be followed in Great Britain, and a new force in Imperial politics will arise. The Parliament of New South Wales was dissolved. A new force—the Labour Party—came into existence, and its members were returned in sufficient numbers to hold the

balance of power between political parties. Acting upon the instructions of the labour unions, Mr. E. J. Houghton, the Secretary of the Trades and Labour Councils of New South Wales, on June 30th, 1891, sent a letter to Sir George Grey containing the following paragraph: "I can hardly express the gratitude felt towards your noble self by the workers of this colony for the great amount of good which resulted from your timely visit, and the beautiful words of advice you spoke when about to step on board the steamer which carried you to New Zealand. These words have been quoted by myself and others of the Labour candidates at many of our meetings, and I need scarcely add that their effect has been very marked. . . . Indeed, some of our men give you all the credit, and I am not by any means disposed to quarrel with those who hold that opinion."

CHAPTER LVI.

RETROSPECT OF SIR GEORGE GREY'S PUBLIC LIFE.

"Oh, good old man, how well in thee appears
The constant service of the antique world,
When service sweat for duty, not for meed !
Thou art not for the fashion of these times
When none will sweat but for promotion."

As You Like It.

IN the tumultuous sea of colonial politics, Sir George Grey's integrity was as firm, and his fixedness of purpose as unyielding, as it had ever been in the Imperial service. Gradually he lost the support of most of his contemporaries, not through any abatement in their belief in his rectitude or wisdom, but by reason of his unbending principle, which would not permit of any of the political tricks, intrigues, or compromises which seem necessary in party warfare. So marked and notorious had this desertion become, that at length it was said in one of the leading newspapers of the colony that Sir George Grey had but one political follower left, and he was not in Parliament. At the same time, public and private confidence in his uprightness, patriotism, and abstract wisdom was unbounded. His remarkable character was the theme of respectful comment. His generous liberality was awarded no stinted praise. Since the days when the Athenian citizen cast his vote for the banishment of Aristides, no stronger illustration of the inconsequential nature of public opinion has been afforded

than the estimation in which Sir George Grey was held by the people of New Zealand at the end of his public career, and his deserted position among politicians.

But in truth there is no great difficulty in tracing out the causes of such an incongruous and apparently strange result. George Grey was a man born to rule. As Dictator or Imperator he would have left a name which would have been handed down to the last generations of men as a symbol of wisdom, courage, and benevolence.

During the different stages of his public life his character never altered, his thoughts and purposes never changed. What he was when at five-and-twenty, filled with restless but honourable ambition, he started upon his explorations in Western Australia, he remained when with the snows of nearly eighty winters upon his head he stood before the vast audiences of Australia, waking a whole nation to its new birth.

Age had, indeed, tamed something of his fire. The frame once strong and vigorous had weakened beneath the hand of time. But the George Grey of 1891 in heart, in hope, in faith, was the same George Grey who, when Victoria ascended the throne of Britain, had gone forth, young, handsome, vigorous, to the commencement of life's busy work.

Naturally fitted for command, he found a suitable sphere for the development of a remarkable character in the perils and responsibilities of Western Australia, in the financial crisis and critical position of South Australia, in the wild turmoil and incessant struggles of New Zealand, and in the vast complications and unparalleled difficulties presented by South Africa and India between the years 1854 and 1860.

The renown of Sir George Grey attained its great-

est height during this particular portion of his life. Not that he was in any sense different from the Grey of other times and other countries, but because the circumstances and developments of that period gauged his capacity and tested his genius. No page of history, either of ancient or modern times, contains a record more sound or brilliant than that of Sir George Grey in South Africa. Confronted by every form of opposition; menaced by dangers of every description; oftentimes not only unsupported but actually thwarted by his superiors; with means utterly inadequate to the ends to be attained; met by occurrences so peculiar as to be absolutely without precedent; called upon to decide at a moment's notice questions, on the answers to which depended the fate of nations; with science, religion, and literature looking to him for guidance, and the usual cares of government resting upon his shoulders; not only acting for the present, but forecasting the future with almost prophetic wisdom, he never neglected one single iota of his duty, he never failed to achieve success.

It is said by Macaulay, when speaking of Cromwell and his Ironsides, that no foeman ever saw their backs, that they never met an enemy without inflicting defeat, and that whenever they conquered, their opponents were crushed. No matter who the enemies were whom Cromwell and his Ironsides met, or how great their numbers, he always remained the master of the field. So long as Grey was in absolute command, a similar verdict may safely be passed upon his career. Especially may it be so stated of his work in South Africa. No conjunction of circumstances ever found him unready; no evil tidings stayed the hand which he stretched out to protect his people. In the storms and tempests which beat upon

him at that time his courage never failed, his judgment was never wrong. No fear of consequences caused him to hesitate in the marvellous combinations which he thought out, and the wonderful steps which he took. He acted unconstitutionally, it is true, but he acted unconstitutionally to save the constitution. He levied troops without the sanction of Parliament indeed, and in defiance of law, but he gave to those regiments standards which were to wave in distant fields, where their gleam and rustle would strike terror to the heart of mutiny, and bring hope and joy to the servants of the Queen. Wise to plan, swift to decide, strong to act, his capacity both moral and physical is brought into singular prominence by the strange and unexampled events of those few years.

In spite of the carpings of his opponents, and the detractions of smaller men, his Royal Mistress followed the record of his government with pleasure, and endorsed his unconstitutional actions with her approval. The hand of Providence was apparent in sending Grey at that time to that particular portion of the world. The Governor was fortunate in serving so wise a Queen; the Queen was happy in the command of so true a servant.

His return to New Zealand with limited power and discretion, fettered upon all sides, hindered the free play of his genius, and reduced the possibility of his usefulness by exactly so much as his personal authority was lessened. His attempts to perform public service in England in 1869 and 1870 indicated indeed the grasp of his mind upon all subjects of importance to Great Britain, but as he possessed no power to enforce his belief, he failed to accomplish practically those great measures which he advocated with singular skill and eloquence.

His Parliamentary career in New Zealand proved

beyond a doubt that his influence in the management of men, and his tact in obtaining the acquiescence and the voluntary assistance of his fellows were by no means equal to his wonderful capacity for command. Here again the reasons are obvious enough. To his mind authority and influence were only desirable in order that they might be used for the happiness and welfare of others. His appeals to men for support were based upon the highest of all principles—self-sacrifice. No lust for place, or public money, or estates, or the petty greatness of official position, could offer to him any temptation whatever, or be supposed by him to offer temptation to others.

It was not, therefore, possible in the crowd, partly of selfish or ignorant men, with whom he was brought in contact, that either he, or his principles, could gain a large or permanent support. Even those who followed him for long periods of time at length fell away, because the objects they desired were not his objects and their ideas not his ideas. And so it happened that at last the press, with some show of truth, averred that all his followers, save one or two, had deserted him.

It is not given to the sons of men to be able always to command success, or at any rate, what the world believes to be success. The life of the greatest of all men ended in seeming failure. And so the seeming failure of Sir George Grey's later years will probably contain the germ of great future usefulness. For even when standing alone in the Parliament of New Zealand his mind was ever active on the side of justice and of humanity, and his tongue was always eloquent in the cause of the oppressed, and in vindication of the common rights of the whole people.

CHAPTER LVII.

NATIVE FEELING FOR SIR GEORGE GREY.

“Take away the sword.
States can be saved without it.”

Lytton.

THE native kings and chiefs of the Pacific had learned to look on Sir George Grey as their natural guardian and adviser. His correspondence in this direction is as instructive as it is interesting, and it is full of pathos. Savage princes, menaced by the French and German officers, appealed to Grey for advice without reserve. Through him many of them more than once prayed to be admitted within the sacred circle of the British Empire. And although this great privilege was denied, they yet approached him when in peril or fear, as their protector.

Thus Malietoa came. After the English Government had refused to accept those beautiful islands of Samoa, Bismarck made no secret of his intention to annex them as German colonies. In great distress, the Samoan king, from beneath the shade of the cocoa palm and telea tree at Apia, penned a humble letter to his illustrious friend, the erstwhile Governor of New Zealand. He set forth his sad predicament. In simple language he told all his fears, and asked by the memory of olden days, and by Grey's love to the native races and their chiefs, that he would spare

time to guide the King and people of Samoa in their deep perplexity.'

The advice which, in reply, Sir George tendered was, at once full and precise. Well aware of the grasping and overbearing nature of the German, awake to the iron determination of the Chancellor in his colonising plans, he laid before Malietoa the two methods which could be adopted in the face of a certain German aggression. The King might resist by force, or he might submit to superior power and appeal under God to the great nations with whom he was in treaty, including Germany herself.

As to resistance, he merely spoke of it to remark that it would mean destruction to Malietoa and his people, while affording an excuse to Bismarck for the occupation of the islands as a conquered territory. The only safe course was that of non-resistance. Careful to avoid meeting force by force, Malietoa must patiently endure insult and injury, trusting in God and in the justice of the nations.

Sir George explained the jealousy of Germany, England, France, and the United States towards each other in the matter of annexing new territory in the great southern seas. He added that public opinion in all civilised nations was ever becoming stronger to resist wrong, and that, if Samoa refused to enter into an unequal conflict and appealed to the great powers, Germany must ultimately yield. Even should the Germans carry him personally into captivity, he must still be patient.

Malietoa received this advice with gratitude. In 1887 the Germans carried him off a captive. Then what Sir George had predicted came to pass. England—to her shame—did not venture to interfere. Prince Bismarck had threatened Lord Salisbury that if she opposed Germany in Samoan colonisation

Germany would aid France in Egypt. But America stood up boldly. The States were firm. Germany should not have Samoa. Justice must be done to the Samoan king.

Malietoa was restored, and this failure in Samoa seems to have been the prelude to Bismarck's fall. Sir George Grey was indignant at the conduct of the German Chancellor. He was surprised as well as pained by the attitude of the English Government. The Samoan episode taught him a new truth. It convinced him that the real and efficient guardianship of the English-speaking races was transferred from Britain to the United States. Henceforth it seemed to him the redress of human grievances and the defence of human freedom must be sought, not in the Councils of London but in those of Washington. He perceived that in the future, if any community or State, especially if it were of English origin, desired protection it would turn across the waves of the Atlantic to the great nation of the West for help rather than to England. For in that young and vigorous Republic, untrammelled by Continental interests, and ambitious for the leadership of the nations, there were wisdom to perceive and courage to vindicate the claims of universal justice, and the blessings of universal liberty.

The feeling of the Maoris towards the Government of the Queen was generally that of a fixed and steady loyalty. Even when the king movement had become settled and organised, there was not, until a fierce and bitter war had been waged between the races, any desire to throw off paramount allegiance to the Crown. The king was looked upon as a sort of provincial superintendent, and as the provinces made their own laws, which were submitted to the Governor for his assent, so the king natives desired

to make their laws, and submit them also to Her Majesty's Representative.

It was not until fire and sword had been carried through the Island that the fierce passions of the Maori tribes caused them to throw off all sense of loyalty, and to assume an absolutely independent position.

It might be supposed that when the forces of General Cameron and General Chute had overpowered the scattered bands of the natives the rebellion was suppressed, and the authority of the Crown restored. This, however, was not the case. When the Imperial troops were withdrawn a sort of tacit peace was inaugurated. The Maori King still existed, and his authority was supreme in the centre of the North Island. A line was drawn called the Aukati. Within that line the Queen's Writ did not run, and for many years Europeans only crossed that fatal boundary at the peril of their lives.

Thieves, murderers, criminals of all sorts, once within that pale were safe from pursuit. No police, no armed colonial force dared to penetrate save secretly and at night.

But in all other parts of the two islands, save in the so-called King Country, the chiefs and people were nearly all loyal to the Crown. They returned members to the New Zealand Parliament, they prosecuted their claims in the English courts, they transmuted their communal titles to land to the ordinary freehold known to English law.

To both king natives and loyal natives there was but one Queen and one Governor. To this day, when the inhabitants of any kainga or the garrison of any pah welcome Sir George Grey, the cry is still the same—"Haeremai, Haeremai, Haeremai te Kawana, Kawana Kerei" (Governor Grey).

In the year 1876 a great law suit was decided in Wellington, in which the Honourable Henry Russell sued the Government—through the Government printer—for libels upon himself and the great Maori chiefs of Hawke's Bay, published in the columns of a paper supported by the Government, called the *Waka Maori* or *Maori Canoe*. After a long and interesting trial, a special jury gave a verdict against the Government for £5,000 and costs.

The proceedings had been of intense interest to the natives. Numbers of chiefs had assembled in Wellington to witness the result. Old war-scarred veterans were there, who had never before seen a European town. Chiefs who had led their tribes to battle in the far North, in the King Country, in Wanganui, on the East Coast, Hawke's Bay and Taranaki, scores of whom bore visible traces of the conflicts in which they had fought side by side with our best and bravest, had assembled to be witnesses of this legal battle, where the rifle, the bayonet, the tomahawk, the spear, and marae gave place to logical argument and the strife of tongues. With the result they were pleased beyond measure. Their loyalty and good faith were unanimously testified to by a pakeha judge and jury against the then Government of the colony.

They could no longer indulge in the ancient feasts of the conqueror, but such an occasion could not pass uncelebrated. A great banquet was given. Many hundreds of guests—Maoris and Europeans—sat down to a well-prepared and appointed dinner. Enjoyment and triumph shone upon every Maori face. The meats were well cooked, the beer and wine abundant. If the feast lacked something of the fierce element of vindictive triumph, which forty years before it would have exhibited, yet there was

enough of the intoxicating influence of success to fill the native heart with pleasure, and tinge each cheek with a darker flush.

According to European custom, toasts were proposed. To the first health all Maoris and Europeans rose, and with respect and pleasure drank to "Her Majesty the Queen." The next toast was that of "The Governor." No sooner had the toast been given out than the Maori chiefs, with one spontaneous impulse, sprang to their feet, and with a great cry, shouted "Kāpai! Te Kawana! Te Kawana Kerei!"

The Governor at this time was the Marquis of Normanby. But the Maoris, true to their nature, had forgotten that there was, or ever had been, any but one Governor. With gleaming eyes and heaving breasts, the chiefs and warriors who had followed Grey in war, and listened with child-like reverence to his voice in council, swept aside all mere formalities and went back to the earnest and living times, when in their simple faith the Queen was their immediate Sovereign, and Grey was their Governor and Father.

It would be impossible to adequately describe the enthusiasm, the fire, the abandonment of the native chiefs, as with one accord and roars of acclamation they toasted "The Governor—Governor Grey." It was useless for the Europeans to tell them, "The Governor—the Marquis of Normanby." All efforts were futile. The Maoris did not seem to understand the correction which was attempted, and louder and still louder rose the shouts, "Kāpai! Te Kawana! Kawana Kerei!"

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AT AUCKLAND.

"Dreams, books, are each a world; and books we know
Are a substantial world, both pure and good.
Round these, with tendrils strong as flesh and blood,
Our pastime and our happiness will grow."

Wordsworth.

TWENTY-FIVE years had passed since Sir G. Grey presented his magnificent library to the people of South Africa. During those years, by purchase, by bequest, by gifts, and by his own untiring researches and participation in active affairs, he had once more accumulated a priceless collection of literary treasures. His love of books was as keen as ever, his knowledge of what was of real interest and value only enlarged by experience. For the second time in his life he found himself the possessor of the most valuable private library in the Southern Hemisphere.

The thought that after his death this collection might be broken up, dispersed, and its component parts lost or destroyed, distressed him. To prevent such a misfortune, and also from love to Auckland, he determined to present his treasures to the city, and enrich the public of New Zealand as he had already enriched that of South Africa.

He communicated his intentions to the destined recipients of his bounty. The munificent bequest of £12,000 under the will of Edward Costley strengthened the determination of the municipal bodies to

erect a suitable building, and when it was completed Sir George Grey sent his books to make their permanent home on the shelves.

The Free Public Library at Auckland was opened by Sir G. Grey on the 26th of March, 1887.

In his address he alluded to Sir Everard Home as being the first donor of valuable books to the Auckland Library. When Home lay dying in Sydney he made his will, leaving all his books to Sir G. Grey. Only a few hours before his death he sent for his will, and to it he added a wish, that if Sir George ever parted with the books he would give them to the city of Auckland. Sir Everard was most anxious to see a public library established in that place, and had fully and constantly discussed the matter with his friend.

Sir George was deeply moved by the importance and interest of the opening scene, and affected by the irrepressible enthusiasm and excitement in the vast crowd which filled every chair and occupied every inch of standing room in the Art Gallery of the new Library buildings. Not only the body of the hall, but the platform, the doorway, and the steps were filled, and the outer passages blocked. The veteran scholar spoke in simple but eloquent language of the high aims which should animate the youth of the rising generation. He said the task which lay before them, though apparently different to that which had been accomplished in his lifetime, was in reality only a more advanced stage of the same work.

"I believe," he said, "that the world is now entering upon an entirely new epoch. In my youth—that is, early in the nineteenth century—the state of things was this:—For a long period of time man had been endeavouring to acquaint himself with the world. But really, comparatively speaking, little was then known regarding the surface or the inhabitants of

this earth, and that arose naturally from the difficulty of communication from place to place, the slowness with which persons could travel, the difficulty of collecting information, and other impediments of that kind. We knew nothing of Africa. The sources of the Nile were unknown. The continent had been found so unhealthy that its interior had never been traversed by persons who could leave any useful account of what they saw. Little indeed was known of its capabilities, or of the populations which inhabited it. Little was known of China; little was known of a great part of America, and but very little was known of Australia. It was imagined that a great inland sea existed there, and regarding what an exploration of the interior might unfold nothing was known. Little was known of New Zealand, nothing but the accounts of Captain Cook. Little was known of the islands of the Pacific. In fact, a great portion of the earth lay hidden from man. The duty, therefore, of the nineteenth century was to clear up all these points, to make man acquainted with the planet which he inhabited, to let him know what its resources were, what kind of people it contained, and what were the limits of the available territory within which mankind were to be confined, and within which alone their efforts for their support could be exerted. Therefore, the duty of the nineteenth century was to see that countries were explored and examined, that their contents were ascertained, that unknown tongues were mastered, and that all dialects should be compared by comparative philology so that we might be able to get some idea of the way in which human beings had distributed themselves over the earth."

After pointing out how thoroughly and completely these objects had been attained, Sir George con-

tinued, "And now, what is the work that remains to be done? To comprehend that we must consider how small a spot the earth has proved to be. Think how many times in a single year any one individual here could encompass the world now, and go round and round it. How little an orb, and yet countless millions will be compelled to find their existence upon it. And on the youth of the generation coming rests an immense task, and a most difficult one—the ascertaining and deciding exactly in what manner it is best that the waste parts of the earth should henceforth be peopled. Of this rest assured, and it is a point never enough valued and fairly considered, that whilst the Creator has laid down certain natural laws, regulating the winds, the seas, the earthquakes, regulating all things which interest man in that way, He has left to human beings the governance in all other respects. You are either His ministers to give effect to His desires for the welfare of His creatures, or are turning traitors to that duty, to prevent His wishes for the welfare of all being carried out. You may say, 'Oh, no design is necessary to determine how the world is to be hereafter peopled, and by what races different portions of the globe are to be occupied.' But I say that if you take that view you neglect your duty, and bring untold or untellable miseries upon the generations who are now coming into the world."

After instancing the case of the West Indies, in which the injustice and cruelty of the slave trade had borne fruit in the atrocities of the negro descendants of the slaves, who have become the dominant race in many islands of the group, he pointed out the dangers and difficulties which had attended the occupation of New Zealand, but which having been surmounted, were thought of no more.

"In most of these islands Christianity is now established. But what shall I tell you in regard to that—that soon after Christianity is established in these islands a total forgetfulness takes place of the evils, which were removed by the early pioneers of Christianity. How many of you sitting here now ever realize to yourselves what was the state of New Zealand in former years? Which of you can imagine human sacrifices continually taking place, human victims habitually being slain for the purpose of being consumed by their fellow-men, all the scenes of bloodshed and atrocity, which went on, and the numbers that were annually sacrificed to habits of that kind? All that we have forgotten. We take New Zealand as it is. And so it will be with each of those other islands. And then when the question of how they are to be peopled arises, as it is rising now, I say, if you leave all to chance, all to hazard, if you forget your duties which will fall upon you in the next few years, you will repeat in some other form, or cause to be repeated, not exactly the same evils which took place in the West Indies, but evils equally great, and which will produce proportionate unhappy results. Not only that, but if you allow the world to be widely peopled in the few parts still remaining open to us, if no care is taken for the regulation of such things, you will fail in your duty, and you will, as I say, not have shown yourselves worthy ministers of your Creator, but you will simply become men, who, in pursuit of their own objects, forget the most sacred and the greatest of duties."

After several other speeches had been made, Sir George performed the ceremony of placing a few valuable books on the shelves, and declared the Library formally open.

Grey's munificent gift to the people of Auckland and the Colony of New Zealand is a fitting measure of the love which he has ever borne towards that "Corinth of the South," that beautiful city between two seas, upon whose strand he first trod New Zealand soil. It is fitly shrined in a handsome and commodious building. To the Library and Art Gallery Sir George Grey is not the only donor. Mr. S. T. Mackelvie, during his lifetime, and afterwards by his will, contributed large numbers of valuable pictures and works of art, as well as a very large sum of money; while other citizens and friends of Auckland gave with no niggard hand.

But without deducting from the worth and value of other benefactions, it is certain that the chief glory of the Auckland Library and Gallery lies in the "Grey collection."

Gods are there, idols of wood and stone from many lands, worshipped amid strange shrines for centuries; weapons uncouth and fearsome, wielded by savage hands in deadly fight: implements of agriculture and the chase—wonderful stone axes, and fishhooks made of bone; spears and assegais, war hatchets and poisoned arrows; shells which had formed the currency of savage tribes; pictures, models, and specimens—all are there; medals of gold, silver, and bronze, gathered from every part of the earth. Older than the occupation of New Zealand by the Maoris is the matuatonga, a stone image now in the Art Gallery. It was brought by the first party of that race who, launching their frail canoes from the shores of the contested Hawaiki, crossed the broad ocean in safety and landed on the coast of these islands, to multiply and live in undisturbed possession for many hundred years.

There are the fragments of that marble cross which

Bartholomew Diaz built at the Cape of Good Hope four centuries ago, to commemorate the doubling of the stormy headland, the extension of the dominions of the King of Portugal, and the mercy of God. Before that symbol of salvation the storm-tost mariners of Spain and Portugal once knelt in prayer. Little did they dream of a future day when the Cape of Good Hope would be subject to the Crown of England, and the fragments of that cross before which they worshipped would be borne two thousand leagues still further over the stormy seas, to be wondered at as a relic of the past in the remotest parts of the earth, in a land where the red cross of Britain also floated. The residue has been taken as a memento of her palmy days to the capital of Portugal. By their side is the silver spade which turned the first sod for the first railway in South Africa. There, too, is a bronze cast of the head of Napoleon, modelled after death by Antomarchi, his medical attendant. It is curious to note how the features had reverted to their appearance in his youth. The likeness to portraits taken in later life is not nearly so strong as to those of Napoleon in early manhood.

In the Library the treasures are still greater. The most complete collection of the Scriptures in all the world is there deposited. The drafts are there of some of Cromwell's last despatches, in the handwriting of Mr. Secretary Thurloe, scored in many places by the stern writing of England's great Protector—in one place he having altered the too gentle sentences of his courteous secretary to his own iron words, one written when the shadows of death were already creeping over his undaunted heart.

These despatches are of considerable national importance. With them is the treaty concluded in the

time of Richard Cromwell with the Hanseatic towns, and signed by most of the members of the Council of State as well as the foreign ambassadors. There are allusions in the last letters written to Cromwell by the British Ambassador in Sweden, Sir Philip Meadows, to the suggestions made to the Protector to assume the title of King of England. The Swedish king is represented as expressing great surprise at Cromwell's persistent refusal to assume the dignity of the Crown, and as stating his belief that such a step would tend to strengthen Cromwell's Government, and ensure the peace and the prosperity of England. One such passage runs thus: "The king told me he wondered His Highness, my master, so prudent and experienced a prince, took no more effectual care to extricate himself out of those necessities, and that he who had achieved so many brave actions, though accompanied with manifold dangers, should now at last scruple that which would be his best and most visible security. This he spoke in reference to assuming the title of king."

The "necessities" alluded to in this paragraph are those which arose from "the non-payment of those moneys (subsidies), from the dissolution of Parliament before provision was made for the supply of my master's treasury." It is curious to note how little the real lesson of Charles the First's deposition and death was understood at the time. The Swedish king evidently implied that if Cromwell were to assume the title of king, he would be independent of his Parliament in the matter of supplies.

On the 16th of August, 1658, Sir Philip Meadows alludes to the death of the Protector's favourite daughter in these words: "Yesternight I received your Honor's of the 6th instant, from Hampton Court, advising me of the sad breach which it hath pleased

God to make upon the family of His Highness by the death of the Lady Elizabeth."

The authorities of the British Museum have endeavoured to induce Sir George Grey to send these documents to that national institution. But Sir George, anxious to bestow such precious relics upon the Library at Auckland, declined, thinking that a new colony ought to possess such valuable historic records. He believed that the possession of such treasures would stimulate among the youth in a new community a passion for learning and research. And he thought that the manuscripts at the Cape and in Auckland would afford the means by which in after years new authors would build up great names.

Sir George did, however, offer these letters to Carlyle some time before his death, to add to a new edition of his 'Life and Letters of Cromwell.' But the Sage of Chelsea declared that he was too old to undertake a fresh task, and said that it ought to be given to some younger man.

There, also, is a wonderful and priceless collection of ancient missals and illuminated manuscripts. There is the first Dutch Bible, printed at Delft in the year 1477. In a magnificent Latin manuscript of the Bible, in two volumes, folio, there was found, in altering the binding, a note containing the self-complacent boast that by the wonderful process of printing men were in the year 1477 able to produce as much in a day as they had been to accomplish by the old process of writing in a year. Little did the old fathers in the school of wooden block type and black-letter printing dream of the perfection to which their art would come, and the revolutions it would effect in human society.

The mere perusal of the catalogue of the Grey collection in the Auckland Public Library carries the

reader back into the distant past, and into the most remote parts of the earth. There are fifty-three well authenticated manuscripts in Greek, Latin, Coptic and Arabic, some of them within a few years of their millennium. Twenty-four editions bear the date of the fifteenth century, and sixty of the succeeding one.

It is not the size, of the Grey collection which renders it so valuable, but the rarity and interest of most of the works. It comprises about 12,000 volumes, and is particularly complete in the philological and theological sections. In the latter there are 374 Bibles, or portions of Holy Scripture, in 160 languages, for the most part belonging to modern times, but including many ancient tongues.

Not the least interesting department in the Library is that of the autograph letters, numbering two or three thousand, and including communications from Her Majesty Queen Victoria, from explorers like Livingstone, Speke, and Sturt, from missionaries and philanthropists, from statesmen and men of letters, from scientists and philosophers, from rulers and poets, from emissaries of peace and men of action. The mere enumeration of such names as Carlyle, Florence Nightingale, Selwyn, Lyell, Moffat, Cosenso, Whately, Froude, Huxley, Sir John and Lady Franklin, Gladstone, Herschell, Speke, Sturt, Patteson, Humboldt, Darwin, Bunsen, Lubbock, and Henry George calls up a bewildering variety of ideas, and the perusal of their letters will give future generations many interesting glimpses at the inner history of this century.

But the charm of the treasured relics of many ages and many lands gathered in the Library at Auckland is greatest when Sir George Grey himself acts as guide. The gorgeous and enduring colours and thick

gold on the pages of the illuminated missals draw forth the wonder and admiration of all visitors, but Sir George finds a deeper interest in reading between the lines the life history of the patient monks whose work is so faithful and so beautiful. Here and there an almost imperceptible blemish will catch his keen eye, and he will paint in a few words the picture which is presented to his mind, of the remorse of the devoted toiler, of midnight penance in the lonely cell. Any little touch of human feeling is dear to him.

At the end of one of the most beautifully illuminated of these volumes there is such a message from the dead. It takes the form of a most humbly-implied hope that the dark sins of the unworthy scribe may be in some slight measure atoned for by the fulfilment of his self-imposed task. Unexpressed but quite as evident as the sincere penitence and humility, are the satisfaction and delight the writer felt in his accomplished work, and his conviction that such a worthy offering must be accepted by Heaven.

With such keys to the feelings with which they were wrought, the pictured pages are found doubly eloquent. The hope of eternity, and the desire of offering a perfect tribute to the glory of God, inspired these holy recluses. In such service no care was too great, no detail insignificant. In the complicated tracery round the sacred pages: in the beautiful miniature designs which adorn the initial letters of chapter and verse; in the lavish embellishments with crimson, gold and purple, whose brilliancy the centuries have not been able to dim, are read—beyond the pride of the artists in the beauty of their work—the agony of human souls striving to achieve their own salvation.

To walk through the Library with Sir George Grey

is to enter a magnificent picture gallery. Taking down a book at random from the shelves, with a few words he will conjure up the forms of the mighty departed, not as spectres, but as breathing, living personalities. The "heroes of a hundred fights" reveal some softer aspect of their natures, the barbaric tongues of naked savages utter words of heaven-taught wisdom and eternal truth. The vices, the follies, the trivialities of past ages may pass unnoticed, but the attention of Sir George's listeners is continually drawn to deeds and words of heroism and virtue, for these are what his mind best loves to dwell upon.

But it is in the little recess which contains translations, vocabularies and works in many languages, written with infinite labour and research by the missionaries, that the most thrilling pictures of noble self-devotion are drawn by him. There exist and live that noble band of whom the world was not worthy. From the solitary heroic figure upon the bleak Patagonian coast, to the lonely exile in the coral-circled islets of the South Pacific, surrounded by the utmost beauty and luxuriance of vegetation; from Father Damien, giving his life for the lepers, to Livingstone, the emissary of peace in Central Africa, struggling wearily against the languor and weakness of deadly fever, which had thinned the ranks of his little band, undergoing privation and sickness, renouncing all that most men consider makes life worth living. All are there, and when interpreted by him who was their friend and correspondent, still live and speak.

It was in this building that Sir George Grey showed Stanley, the eminent African explorer, a volume which he had heard was in existence but had never seen, containing a map drawn nearly three hundred years ago, on which the course of the Congo was correctly

traced. On one of its shelves also is treasured a copy of the "Early Life of the Prince Consort," doubly precious from the autograph inscription by Her Majesty to Sir George Grey, dated March 6th, 1869.

In many features the Library at Auckland is not equal to that presented by Sir George to the Cape of Good Hope, but in some respects it is superior. It was his desire to aid in making Auckland a seat of learning. He hoped not merely to inspire the youth of his favourite city with an eager appetite for knowledge, but to draw from distant places to Auckland students and those who, in the pursuit of literature, would deem it wise to consult portions of the vast mass of authorities which his unrivalled industry had enabled him to bestow upon the people of Auckland. He was pleased to think that in the days to come, future generations would resort to this mine of wealth and spread its riches far and wide in the literary world.

The vast extent of the literary, scientific, and artistic treasures which fell into the hands of Sir George Grey, and were divided by him between Cape Town and Auckland, represented not merely the result of great industry, knowledge, and the expenditure of money in purchasing. It proceeded partly from the widely-scattered gifts and contributions which during so many years he bestowed upon different races and repositories of learning. The natural consequence of his own boundless liberality was the return to him of many curiosities of a like nature. Thus, from all quarters and from all classes, from savage chiefs and men of letters, from scientific discoverers and kings of the earth, he continually received acknowledgments reciprocal to his own generosity. It was thus that from innumerable sources these collections

accumulated, which now excite, and will for ever continue to excite the astonishment and delight of visitors.

Since the opening of the Library, Sir George Grey has continually added to it choice and valuable gifts. Under skilful management, the great mass of valuable correspondence is being steadily and surely reduced into system and order.

CHAPTER LIX.

GREY'S ACHIEVEMENTS, FAILURES, AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

"The meaning of life here on earth might be defined as consisting in this: To unfold your *Self*, to work what thing you have the faculty for."—*Carlyle*.

As the British Empire is now entering upon an epoch of change in social, political, and economic doctrines, it may be useful to summarise those matters of importance in which Sir George Grey's efforts have resulted either in success or failure, and to draw notice to his views and opinions.

He himself ever attributed his success in great measure to the aid he received from many noble friends, amongst whom were chiefs of so-called barbarous races.

Submitted thus in a bird's-eye view, the mind will perceive those "signs of the times" which contain lessons of wisdom beyond price.

Twelve or fourteen great achievements, in which he was completely or partially successful, immediately present themselves to the mind. They are:

1. Prevention of the establishment of a State Church in Australia and New Zealand.
2. The maintenance of the integrity of the Empire.
3. The fulfilment of treaty obligations with the natives of New Zealand and other countries.

4. The framing of a model Constitution for colonial possessions. "

5. The establishment in the Australasian Colonies of the principle of equal and universal franchise.

6. Framing of a Constitution for a Free Church of England in New Zealand, which has since, in its main features, been adopted in other places.

7. Cape Breakwater and Harbour, the value of which to British commerce can hardly be estimated.

8. Pacification of New Zealand.

9. Pacification of South Africa.

10. Establishment of beneficent institutions in all his governments—Libraries, Hospitals, Schools, Universities, Public Reserves, &c., &c.

11. Providing from his own resources for the purchase of native lands for European settlement, for the carrying on of government in Kaffraria and for colonisation.

12. Largely assisting in the saving of India by taking immense personal responsibility.

13. Opposition to land monopoly, and the granting of facilities for *bona-fide* settlement in South Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

14. Encouragement and assistance to the efforts of explorers, missionaries, students, reformers, and writers.

15. Important additions to scientific knowledge in Natural History, Ethnology, and Philology, and the wide diffusion of such knowledge.

In many of the great purposes which George Grey set himself to achieve he has failed. For some of them the possibility of success has for ever passed away. The enumeration of these attempts now can only recall the memory of disasters which might have been averted, the vision of blessings which might have been secured.

Round some the waves of political strife are still fiercely surging. Some are bound eventually to prevail as they contain the living germs of truth and necessity. Others are yet possible, and would bring great blessings if persevered in. Among these is the confederation of South African States, though under different conditions to those formerly existing. As the theory that members of different religious bodies were incapable of agreeing in common council on measures for the common good has been proved false: so Sir George Grey believes that a similar theory in regard to subjects of different forms of government is false. He holds that delegates from monarchies and from republics might well deliberate on questions affecting the welfare of all.

His plan, briefly stated, is: That the States should contract that they would each (whenever the majority of the contracting parties thought good that a law should be made upon any subject) send the number of deputies agreed upon to a common conference. That the conference so summoned should be empowered to make a general law, and that the deputies on returning to their respective States should introduce the general law passed by the conference as an Act of their own Legislature, each State passing the law according to its own customs. This plan would enable Free States, Sovereignities, and Republics to join in a common federation without interfering with each other's legislation. If it succeeded in South Africa it could be extended to other lands.

In all these attempts Sir George Grey has advocated wide views, noble principles, and an imperial policy. Their mere consideration is ennobling after a dispiriting experience of legislation conducted in the interests and the spirit of Little Peddlington.

It is something at least to hear the voice of the

prophet from his lonely mountain height proclaiming the beauties and the grandeur of the wide extended view, even if he stand alone. It is something to see with his eyes for a moment, even if we will not lift our own from the lower ground. The utterance of such truths will inspire some souls to soar upwards, although the majority may scoff at the prophet and his visions. And it is well for the world that he should speak, although his voice should fail, and his eye grow dim, and his heart break in the fruitless effort to make the people believe and see. It may truly be said of Sir George Grey that his failures are more glorious than meaner men's successes.

Amongst the most prominent of the things attempted, in which he failed, are the following :

1. Confederation of Southern Seas under English flag.
2. Confederation of South African States under English flag.
3. Home Rule for Ireland.
4. A national system of colonisation.
5. A complete and perfect system of self-government for the Colonies.
6. The prevention of the Zulu war.
7. The preservation of the New Zealand Constitution.
8. A pure and unselfish system of administration.

Sir George Grey has been ever a great reader of books as well as a student of human nature. His industry is even now unwearied. The lofty standard which he achieved at Sandhurst has been more than equalled by his subsequent career. His scientific attainments are matters of public notoriety. He is a philological student, and he is acquainted with many languages. The greatest of modern philosophers have borne testimony to the depth and variety of his

knowledge in many branches of natural and physical science. His reading in Constitutional and International Law is sound and extensive.

His opinions upon economic questions, which questions he believes to underlie much of the future prosperity and happiness of mankind, are simple and yet profound. The extreme competition and selfishness which characterise modern economic science find in him no adherent. He believes that labour has a right to share in the profits and surplus values which it creates. And although he treads on this ground with extreme circumspection, and recognises the wonderful complexity of the web of social life in relation to the distribution of wealth, he yet holds firmly to the theory that association and mutual assistance make a safer and sounder foundation for national prosperity than bare individualism and merciless competition. It is his opinion that the truest system of economics is built upon practical Christianity, and is based upon the two corner stones found in the utterances of the New Testament, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

Sir George Grey tells with a smile how, when once walking with the late Sir James Stephen, they saw an arbour in which Mr. Senior, a neighbour of the Colonial Under-Secretary, usually sat while writing. Mr. Senior was then believed to be preparing the new Poor Laws.

"Think of that man," said Sir James Stephen, "I would not for all the world be in his position. He is writing upon the Poor Laws and political economy. A most amiable man, and most upright and conscientious. Yet in the interests of what he calls political economy, which he believes to be fraught with benefits to England, he is adding unconsciously to the

sorrows and burdens of millions of his fellow countrymen."

The opinion of Sir George Grey upon the subject of political economy were almost identical with those of his friend, Thomas Carlyle.

As a writer, he has always evinced considerable skill and great knowledge of the subjects under discussion. His style is clear, forcible, and sometimes—even upon grave questions of State—"dramatic in its vividness. His correspondence has been already several times alluded to, although not half its treasures have been brought under the notice of the reader. Perhaps in its width and the variety and importance of the matters comprised in it, it has rarely, if ever, been surpassed.

His philanthropic and social plan, and their fulfilment, form part of his history of the colonies of Australasia and South Africa.

His main political views are few and simple.—That the franchise should be universal and equal; that taxation should be proportionate to the power to bear it and the benefit derived; that all public offices should be open as the reward for merit and efficiency; that the community has a right to a fair portion of what John Stuart Mill calls "the unearned increment"; and that colonisation should be used for the purpose of increasing the national safety, prosperity, and power, are among his principal articles of political faith.

His personal character is peculiar, but ingenuous. In a life crowded by adventures he has had no love of adventure for itself. The strange incidents of his career have been always merely attendant upon the performance of some task, or have been met with in the accomplishment of some ulterior purpose. The pleasures by which other men are delighted have had

comparatively but little interest for him. And as his adventures, so his pleasures have mostly come during the discharge of duty. His wonderful voyages with Selwyn through the glorious islands of the Pacific, his matchless sporting expedition with Prince Alfred at the Cape, his presidency of public feasts and public festivals, his presence at great commemorations and the commencement of national undertakings, even his attendance on the racecourse, in the concert-room, and at scenes of public amusement, have all been, more or less, in the fulfilment of duties inseparable from public position.

One feature, strange enough in these days, should stand out conspicuously in a sketch of the character of Sir George Grey. This is found in the utter absence of the love of wealth, which has eaten like a canker into the heart of the nation, and of any desire to acquire landed estates. Perhaps the fiercest storm that ever raged in the House of Representatives in New Zealand arose from an accusation made by a Minister of the Crown that Sir George Grey had, when Governor, participated in the private purchase of native lands. The charge, although no wrongdealing was imputed, was absolutely denied by the ex-Governor. The correspondence which was relied upon by his accuser, when produced, substantiated Sir George Grey's words and confounded his opponents. The effect of this vindication was very great, and soon afterwards the then Ministry were ousted from power, and were succeeded by a Cabinet over which Sir George Grey presided.

Not only was he thus regardless of wealth and estates. His life presents a long and unbroken record in its entire and peculiar abnegation of self, of comfort, rest, retirement, or relaxation, when likely to interfere either with public or private duties.

His firm and determined character was nowhere more clearly shown than in his resistance to wrongdoing in high places, and the rectitude of that character was exhibited in the scrupulous fulfilment of promises made to any of the numerous native tribes, however feeble, with which he was brought into contact during his official career. His sympathies with all that is good and worthy, irrespective of class, creed, colour, or race, are, and have ever been, universal and unchanging.

Any sketch of Sir George Grey's life which did not bring into strong relief the character of his society and his deep sympathy and interest in the most trivial events affecting those amongst whom he lived, would omit one important feature of his personality. And yet these are the most difficult of all characteristics to portray. Displayed fifty times a day in conversation, in kindly words and thoughtful actions, it is yet manifestly impossible to record these speeches or incidents in full. And to write of one or two isolated examples may, perhaps, provoke wonder at their being considered of sufficient importance to chronicle.

Five minutes' conversation with Sir George Grey at any time found him eager and excited over some literary or historical discovery. Some well-known truth or established fact would have presented itself in a novel light, and led to an utterly unexpected result, explaining the motives which actuated public men, and clearing up the mystery surrounding their actions. There was always something new to be told, something of interest to be shown anyone who found Sir George at leisure for a little conversation.

His great acquirements and natural parts made him an ideal companion. His slow impressive speech never wearied his listener, his learning and

attainments were never obtruded in condescension or patronage. His manner was simple in the extreme; his language couched in the purest and most unassuming English. The respect, almost homage, which was shown Sir George by all who met him, was not the result of any conscious effort on his part. On the contrary, his consideration and courtesy were extended equally to all—a peasant woman was as sure of them as a marchioness, a gumdigger as a Minister of the Crown, a naked savage as a Colonial Governor.

Mr. Murray, son of the well-known publisher, frequently spoke of Sir George as “the only person in New Zealand to whom everybody took off his hat,” and he might have added with equal truth, “the only man who took off his hat to everybody.” It was an amusing sight to watch the gravity and courtesy with which the “great Pro-Consul” returned the salutations of even tiny children of six and seven years old. Little shy boys pulling off their hats to him in a shame-faced way, always saw him in return bare his venerable locks with the same gesture with which he would have responded to the greeting of an archbishop.

His dignity was something deeper than the exclusiveness which refuses to recognise persons of an inferior station in life, and demands constant self-assertion. But at the same time the unconscious influence of the old aristocrat's presence checked any approach to presumption or familiarity.

Many of Sir George's friends were much scandalised at his indifference to the barriers of society. On one occasion, during his second government of New Zealand, he visited Hokitika and Greymouth, to which neighbourhood a large number of people had been attracted by the discovery of gold. The Governor held a reception, at which ladies were present as well

as their husbands. "Look," whispered one of the leaders of "society" to a friend, "that is my washer-woman with whom the Governor is shaking hands so cordially." Grey remembered the faces, names, and circumstances of these humble acquaintances in a marvellous manner, a conclusive proof that the interest he showed in their concerns was sincere and not feigned.

In the early days of New Zealand's history, a Maori named Moses or Mohi, became the devoted servant of the Chief Justice and his wife. After their departure from the Colony he attached himself to Mr. Swainson, the first Attorney-General, who had been a passenger by the same vessel which brought Sir W. Martin and Bishop Selwyn to New Zealand. The homes of these three distinguished men were close to each other. About the time of Mr. Swainson's death, Sir George Grey, with his nephew and niece, Mr. and Mrs. Seymour George, and their family, left Kawau and settled in Auckland close to the lovely bay in which Mohi's two English homes had been. Immediately the old man looked upon himself as having a right to the protection and support of this, the last of his old friends.

For years Mohi was a pensioner of Sir George Grey, and when at last the shadows of death fell upon him, and he was unable to move from the little cottage which had been found for him, he sent for the ex-Governor, who was himself weak from illness, yet did not delay in acceding to the wish of the old Maori. The scene by the death-bed was most pathetic. The faithful old servant's last sensation of bodily pain was removed by Sir George, who, seeing the failing fingers struggling to loosen the band round his throat, rubbed the dying man's chest and side with firm yet gentle pressure. He often afterwards related with visible

emotion how a peculiarly sweet smile crossed the native's face. On inquiring its cause, the Maori replied—"My mind has gone back many years. The last hand that touched me as you are doing was that of my mother, when she used to play with me as a child, and tickle me to make me laugh." Mohi confided to Sir George the disposition he wished made of his property, which the latter promised should be carried out. Then, having handed over to Sir George's keeping some rings which he had received from Lady Martin, the dying Maori spoke hopefully with his visitor about the future, saying he felt perfectly satisfied and at peace. Sir G. Grey was persuaded by Miss Outhwaite, another friend of Lady Martin's, to leave the bedside for a short time. When he returned, after an absence of about twenty minutes, he found that Mohi had passed calmly and quietly away, and he felt that almost the last direct link which bound him to the days of Selwyn and Martin had parted. When the bell tolled solemnly from St. Stephen's, Sir George Grey, with bowed shoulders and failing gait, headed the little procession, and stood bare-headed by the open grave. Many wondered that so much notice should be taken of the death of "a mere Maori," but the great heart of the chief mourner sorrowed for a friend.

To gratify the wishes of children was a continual delight to Sir George. His own nephews and nieces found out very early in life that they had only to wish for anything in order to receive it, so long as they expressed the wish in their uncle's hearing. A very amusing scene took place on one of these occasions at Kawau. One of his nieces, a fair-haired little maiden of some three or four summers, had sighed for a Shetland pony. There were none on the island, so Sir George sent to Auckland for one. It was car-

ried down, in a small steamer, and landed on the jetty, which ran out into the bay directly in front of the house. Then the child was taken to see that her wish was fulfilled, and to watch the pony being put ashore. Unfortunately the animal became frightened and struggled in a most lively manner. "Take it away," cried the little girl, "take it away. I don't want it. I won't have it." And for a long time she could not be persuaded even to look at her new possession. But in the end, finding how gentle and quiet her pony really was, she grew very fond of it.

Sir George's sympathy was not less ready towards children outside his own household.

After endowing the Public Library in Auckland with his magnificent collection, Sir George Grey spent many hours almost daily in the building giving information to the librarian, and assisting him to catalogue and arrange the multitudinous treasures and literary curiosities. Leaving the Library, he would often make his way through the adjoining gardens of the Albert Park. There, on several occasions, he found a schoolboy with his eyes bent on the volume in his hand, while his companions ran races and amused themselves in various ways. One day the grey-haired scholar spoke to the young student and asked the name of the book over which he pored so intently. The lad coloured with embarrassment, but replied simply that he was studying hard, with the hope of winning a scholarship. Sir George was greatly interested. After asking several questions, and speaking a few words of encouragement, he told the boy to let him know if he succeeded in the examination. He did not forget the circumstance; and when, a few months later, he received word from his young acquaintance that the coveted scholarship was gained, Sir G. Grey bought a large and handsome

book, in which he wrote the lad's name and sent it to him as a memento and a reward. •

It is a pity that the lives of those who go forth from the older countries to encounter strange perils in the performance of duty, and to sow the seeds of future harvests for the world, are not made more familiar and easy of access. It is impossible to believe that if the life of Sir George Grey be studied by the youth of the United Kingdom it can fail to incite a spirit of emulation in many minds. To those who fear that the endurance and courage of our race are fading, it will bring conviction that there are yet men bred from the old stock who are fit to lead the world. To those who are inclined to believe that scepticism and materialism are usurping the place once held by simple faith in God, the stories of such lives as this will afford consolation. To those, and they are many, who dread the approach of almost universal confusion and anarchy, this record, typical of the lives of other men, though upon a larger scale, will give this assurance—that there are eyes which look down the vista of the future with steady gaze; that there are hearts full of courage and devotion, equal to any fate; and that among the scattered millions of our people exist intellects keen and observant, hands strong to direct the helm of State in any storm, and hearts sublime in the absence of fear, in dependence upon God, and in love to their fellow men. • •

CONCLUSION.

THE task of the writers is accomplished, a task pleasant in itself, and yet full of anxiety. Much that might have been included—incidents and adventures of different characters in many lands—has been of necessity omitted. Whether portions which have been written might with advantage be replaced by other records of Sir George Grey's busy life is a question which we find it difficult to decide.

As from the study where these pages have been written we look down upon the sunlit waters of the Waitemata, and away to the beautiful islands of the Hauraki Gulf, past the little church where Selwyn worshipped, and the walks, then unsheltered, now overshadowed by English trees, where Grey and Selwyn and Sir William Martin took counsel together in the early crisis of the history of New Zealand, memories of stories, of sufferings, and of achievements came crowding thickly upon us.

The figures of three great men stand out in bold relief; but behind them rise a vast number of loyal supporters in all that was good and true, who toiled for the peace and prosperity of their adopted country. Amid the scenes of conflict and of suffering that the early story of the colony presents, we can discern the forms of soldiers and sailors laying down their lives for her welfare, officers and men vying with each other in devotion and in courage; patriots and

philanthropists, warm in heart, wide in sympathy, steadfast in endeavour for the good of their race; missionaries and other pioneers of civilisation, living laborious days, remote from luxury and comfort; Europeans and Maoris alike aiding the representatives of civil and religious authority and law. The majority of them are unknown to fame, their very names forgotten, yet the people of New Zealand will ever owe them a debt of gratitude which time cannot discharge. Their descendants may be proud and feel that they do well to be proud of such ancestors. Were their names and deeds to be collected and recorded, the page on which they were inscribed would be glorious, rich in all that appeals to the noblest sentiments of man—but such a page can never be compiled.

Many of the events in Sir George Grey's life must also inevitably pass unrecorded. The work of selection from such varied materials must be always difficult. Doubtless the choice has oftentimes been decided by the personal feelings of the writers. What has been omitted would but have given a deeper emphasis to the courage and wisdom of the character we have attempted to portray.

It has been our wish without exaggeration to place Sir George Grey as an example for imitation to all those who are anxious or likely to bear a part in the performance of public duty. It is true that no man can hereafter expect to be placed in the same circumstances. In this respect, his record is unique. No such epoch ever before existed, nor can any practically similar ever again occur.

But in all positions of life, and under every varying phase of human existence, the same principles which animated George Grey, and the same faith which sustained him, may animate and sustain others, whether

they be princes, born to an imperial throne, or peasants, whose hands must be familiar with the spade and plough.

If we have succeeded in reducing into order and historic progression the great events herein alluded to; if we have succeeded in showing how faith in God can sustain and strengthen the heart under perils and dangers most appalling; how a permanent and paramount sense of duty can nerve the heart to do and to suffer all things; and how in most trivial matters, as well as events of Imperial importance, wisdom and rectitude should control both the words and deeds of public men, we shall count ourselves well repaid. And we rest contented with the knowledge that some portion of the greatness of a great life, some of the radiance which streams from an illustrious character, will be enjoyed by those who rescue from possible oblivion the record of noble deeds, and who rear for the study and emulation of generations yet to come the figure of a man at once great and simple, powerful and unselfish.

APPENDIX.

(NOTE A.—See pages 38 to 45.)

FREDERICK SMYTH.

IN the account of Grey's second exploration in Australia, there are two or three brief allusions to the brave lad who found a grave in the wilderness. Since that account has been in print, Sir George Grey has expressed to the writers his earnest desire that a more definite tribute should be paid to the memory of one who may be regarded as having met the death of a martyr in the cause of science and discovery, led on by personal friendship and affection for Sir George himself. Frederick Smyth came of a very good old English family. His grandfather and uncle successively represented Norwich in the House of Commons for many years.

(NOTE B.—See pages 68 to 72.)

STOKES' CHARGES AND DARWIN'S LETTERS.

THE controversy alluded to between Captain Stokes and Sir George Grey, in pages 68 to 72, led to a strange correspondence between Grey and Darwin. The great naturalist had sailed on his memorable voyage in the *Beagle* a few years before she was

employed to convey Grey and Lushington to Australia. Mr. Stokes was at that time second lieutenant of the *Beagle*, and after Darwin's return to England a somewhat intimate and familiar correspondence was maintained by the author of the "Origin of Species" and the naval officer. Grey occupied the cabin formerly used by Darwin.

Captain Stokes communicated to Darwin the results of his so-called survey of the country between Perth and Shark's Bay, and asked his friend's opinion—first, as to the propriety of Grey's action; and, secondly, as to whether, in his opinion, the latter could reasonably be offended at the stand which he, Stokes, had taken.

Dr. Darwin was greatly surprised at the substance of this letter, and relying entirely upon the accuracy and good faith of his correspondent, stated in reply that he was grieved and astonished that a gentleman of Grey's character should, either by mistake or intention, have been guilty of such gross and dangerous errors.

In some strange way this letter found a place within the pages of a new book, forwarded with others by his publisher in London, to Grey, when Governor of New Zealand in 1846. Sir George, who had a great respect for Darwin, immediately enclosed this letter to its author, at the same time vindicating his own conduct and justifying the reports which he had made. The following correspondence then ensued:—

Down Farnborough, Kent, November 3rd, 1846.

My dear Stokes,—I have just received, to my great surprise, the letters of which the enclosed are verbatim copies. That with my signature was in my handwriting. I remember enclosing it to you with one of your proof sheets in answer to some query, whether Captain Grey could be offended at your manner of referring to some bay or river. I beg you to inform me immediately how it could possibly have been sent to Sir G. Grey. It

places me in the position of wishing to make myself presumptuously impertinent to him—a position the very opposite to my feelings regarding him. I shall, of course, inform Sir G. Grey that I have written to you, and I should think it would be most agreeable to yourself to allow me to enclose your entire answer, or at least a paragraph from it, and I shall enclose a copy of this note. He will then see the whole part which I have been made by some means to play in this disagreeable affair.

To this Stokes replied as follows:—

November 6th, 1846.

My dear Darwin,—Your letter of the 8th, with its enclosure, has *greatly* surprised and annoyed me. I remember receiving the note of yours you have alluded to, and thought I had destroyed it at the time; but how or by what unfair means it has been most wickedly sent to Governor Gray, I am quite at a loss to know. It gives me great concern to think that I should in any way be the means of placing you in such a disagreeable position, and rest assured it will ever be a matter of deep regret to your very faithful friend,

W. STOKES.

P.S.—I shall endeavour to find out the mischief-maker.

On November 10th, Darwin wrote to the Governor of New Zealand in these words:—

My dear Sir,—I beg to thank you for the courteous tone of your communication of the 10th of May, 1846, considering the circumstances under which it was written. I enclose a letter which I immediately wrote to Captain Stokes, and his answer. These will, I trust, exonerate us of intentional impertinence. Some most malicious person must have sent my note to you. I have been much mortified by perusing it, and though I am not presumptuous enough to suppose that you can care much for my opinion of your work on Australia, it is a satisfaction to me to be enabled to name to myself many individuals to whom I have expressed my strong opinion of the very high qualities shown in your work, of which the amusement it afforded was but a small part. Your account of the aborigines I have always thought one of the ablest ever written. As we are not likely to have any further communication, permit me to add that I have a most pleasant recollection of our former acquaintance. With much respect I beg to remain, yours faithfully,

CH. DARWIN.

Sir George, in reply, answered the questions suggested to him, and wrote in such a strain of kindness and good feeling as to elicit a somewhat remarkable epistle from the man of science, from which the following quotation is made:—

Down Farnborough, Kent, November 13th, 1847.

My dear Sir,—Although Your Excellency must be overburdened with business, I cannot resist the temptation to thank you cordially for the very kind, and if I may be permitted to say so, admirable spirit, with which you excuse and tell me to forget the, to me, painful origin of our correspondence. I have been the more gratified by your letter, as I had not the least expectation of hearing from you.

I am extremely glad to know how well your colony is now prospering. Ever since the voyage of the Beagle, I have felt the deepest interest with respect to all our colonies in the southern hemisphere. However much trouble and anxiety you must have had, and will still have, it must ever be the highest gratification to you to reflect on the principal part you have played in two countries, destined in future centuries to be great fields of civilisation.

You are so kind as to offer aid in any natural history researches in New Zealand. I have no *personal* interest on any point there; but there are two subjects which have long appeared to me well deserving investigation, and if hereafter your labours should be lightened, you might like to attend to them yourself, or direct the attention to them of any naturalist under you. The first is an examination of any limestone caverns. Such exist near the Bay of Islands, and I daresay elsewhere. I was prevented entering them, by their having been used as places of burial. Digging in the mud under the usual stalagmitic crust would probably reveal bones of the contemporaries of the Dinornis. . . . The second point is, whether there are "erratic boulders" in New Zealand, more especially in the Middle and Southern Islands; and their northern limit, if such occur. Most geologists are now united in considering erratic boulders to have been transported by icebergs and glaciers. I consider it a most important question, *as bearing upon the former climate of the world*, to know whether such proofs occur generally in the southern hemisphere as in the northern. I have ascertained that such is the case in South America from Cape Horn to about lat. 40°. This subject requires much care and some little knowledge, or at least thought.

As if to add assurance to assurance in confirmation of the views expressed by Captain Grey of the territory under discussion, a special correspondent despatched by the London *Daily Chronicle* traversed that district and reported upon it in the articles which appeared in that paper in August and September, 1891, under the heading, "The Outlook in Australasia."

He speaks of the very valleys indicated by Captain Grey as "the famous Greenough Flats, which the Agricultural Commission class among the richest agricultural land in all Australia." He dwells on "their deep, loamy richness, averaging wheat crops of thirty bushels per acre," and goes on to mention "the heather and innumerable flowering shrubs, making the plains bright enough, even in winter, and encouraging a belief in all that was told us of the glorious display of flowers which the summer sun brings forth, making the country a veritable Florida, after a fashion which English imagination can hardly compass."

In a subsequent article the correspondent again returns to his description of that country, using the same terms of praise regarding large portions of it which he had already employed. . . .

(NOTE C.—See pages 75 to 78.)

SIR GODFREY THOMAS.

THE name of Captain Grey's step-brother was inadvertently omitted. The brothers were deeply attached to one another, and Sir Godfrey made his home with Grey for many years. His early death caused deep sorrow to his brother. He was a rising public man, and bade fair to achieve a useful career.

(NOTE D.—See page 154.)

CHURCH ENDOWMENTS IN NEW ZEALAND: SPEECH
OF SIR GEORGE GREY, JUNE 18TH, 1851.

“SIR GEORGE GREY said that any information on this subject in the possession of the Government rested, he believed, solely on his own personal knowledge. All he knew regarding it was that the Agent of the Canterbury Association had read to him the draft of the letter, in which, as far as he remembered, was a recommendation that an application should be made for an extension of the block of land which was to be subject to disposal under the peculiar rules of that settlement. He had, however, heard rumours on the same subject from other sources. As far as he was informed of the intentions of the Home Government and of Parliament, he believed that they were in no way desirous that this particular mode of disposing of lands should be forced upon the inhabitants of this country. In fact, they were solely desirous of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of New Zealand, and of consulting, as far as practicable, their wishes. It therefore was the duty of those persons who disliked the portions of the islands they lived near being subjected to such regulations to state their objections to them. The points which appeared to require attention were these:—A district containing nearly three millions of acres, including within its boundaries Bank's Peninsula, and embracing one of the most fertile districts in New Zealand, which contained also—before the present regulations were established—many persons of a different faith from that of the Church of England, was placed under the control of the Canterbury Association; and then regulations were made, an important feature of which was that until three millions of pounds were paid for the

purposes of the Church of England, the whole of that district could not be used, as their necessities required, by civilised man; nor could any part of it be used for these purposes until the proportionate part of the three million pounds which was due under these regulations upon that part was paid over for the purposes of the Church of England: even for the depasturing purposes the land could not be used under the present regulations except at a rate which, calculating that a hundred acres would feed thirty sheep, required a payment of nearly twopence per head per annum for the same purposes. Now, as he understood from rumours, it was intended to ask that a further block of perhaps three millions or four millions of acres should be placed under the same regulations, so that the case would then be, that before the whole of this block could be used, seven millions of pounds must be paid for the purposes of the Church of England, and no part of it could be used until the proportionate amount due on that portion had been so paid. This appeared to involve questions worthy the consideration of all classes in New Zealand, as the power of the humbler classes to acquire properties for their families was involved in it, the amount of the produce of the country was involved in it, and the extent and value of the commerce greatly depended on it. The only argument he had ever heard used in defence of this arrangement was that Great Britain had done much for New Zealand, and therefore had a right to make such regulations for the disposal of its lands as were for the benefit of the population of the whole Empire. This argument he admitted in its fullest extent; but he could not consider it for the benefit of the Mother Country that one of the most fertile portions of the Empire should be closed by such restrictions, which, in as far as he understood them, placed

obstacles in the way of industrious men raising themselves from a state of want by the use of lands which, in their wild state, were useless to mankind. As a Churchman, he viewed this attempt with the utmost alarm, although on this subject he spoke with great diffidence, as he had the highest reliance upon the judgment of many members of the Association; indeed two right reverend prelates belonging to that Association were his intimate friends. Yet it did not appear to him—at the time that so large a portion of the population of Great Britain were in such distress—to be in accordance with any rule of Christianity that the poor of the earth should have closed against them by such restrictions so large a tract of fertile country which a bounteous Providence had placed at the disposal of the human race. It did not appear to him to be in accordance with the principle that those who preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel, because it wrung contributions to a Church from those who were not friendly to that Church, but whose absolute necessities compelled them to buy land necessary for their operations; and because it made the clergy, in the early stages of the scheme, dependent for their support, not upon their flocks, not upon the members of the Church, but solely upon the amount of land to be sold; so that almost involuntarily men might be led to aid in the sale of lands—a duty foreign to their calling. He thought, therefore, that this system of obtaining an endowment was objectionable, whilst he thought the endowment itself far too large, and likely ultimately to introduce habits of sloth and negligence into the Church, and thus to be injurious to its own welfare. He would rather have seen the virtuous and industrious, who could find no place at home, encouraged to occupy such a country upon terms which would have enabled them

easily to acquire homes for themselves and their families, and readily to develop the resources of the country, and to have seen a busy, active clergy, by acts of kindness and Christian virtue, gaining from the members of their own Church, in that fertile district, a love and gratitude which would readily have yielded ample endowments for all their wants. He feared the present system would injure the Church; it led men incautiously, even in the publications issued under the authority of the Association, to hold out the clergy as a feature of attractiveness, and even to use such language in support of what is termed the religious principle as that 'the merest land speculator has an interest in the Canterbury Bishopric.' He thought that such arguments, whilst they might gain endowments for the Church, must injure the very religion they were meant to support. It therefore behoved those who objected to having the lands in their vicinity placed under such regulations to state their views upon the subject."—*New Zealand Spectator*, June 21st, 1851.

(NOTE E.—See page 246.)

CHINA ARMY AND LORD CANNING.

WE have not been able to find any evidence to show that Sir George Grey received any proper recognition of his important services on this occasion from the Queen's Ministers. Indeed it seems that Her Majesty's Advisers were so anxious to support Lord Canning, and to manifest their approval of his conduct, that they were placed in a great difficulty by Sir George Grey's continued energy in sending assistance to Bengal. Lord Canning evidently desired that only a trifling aid and horses should be forwarded. His

under-estimate of the gravity of the circumstances would have been revealed if more prominent notice had been bestowed upon Grey's action. Silence, therefore, was deemed by them to be advisable. They knew Canning to be a good and able man, surrounded by difficulties of a most extraordinary character, and they desired neither to weaken his authority nor to bring discredit upon his judgment. They therefore acted wisely. ∴

(NOTE F.—See page 264.)

GERMAN LEGION AND BOMBAY.

AT the time when Sir George Grey re-enrolled and remodelled the German Legion and sent them to Bombay, thus increasing the strength of the British army beyond that authorized by law, there were two powers with authority in India. The East India Company, which *could* increase its army, was yet the governing power, although the British Parliament and the British arms were conducting a great war in Hindostan, so great a war that Sir George Grey was confident it would result in India passing under the direct dominion of the Crown—a dominion which in truth had already commenced. Under this dual system of rule Grey fared badly. The German Legion was of invaluable service to Bombay at a most momentous crisis. Of this the East India Company was conscious, and its officers expressed their gratitude. But Her Majesty's Ministers had already condemned the illegal act of the Governor at the Cape in levying troops without authority of Parliament, and perhaps could not turn its censure into condemnation even under such pressure as the circumstances brought to bear upon them. Thus in all directions Sir George

Grey failed to receive that public recognition which his courage and foresight demanded. His sending of the China army was accredited to Lord Elgin. His continued stream of reinforcements and assistance was ignored. His recalling the German Legion, and the consequent saving of Bombay, brought upon him a censure which was never recalled.

(NOTE G.—See Page 322.)

THE GREAT HUNT IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

It might be thought from the description of this hunt given in the text that the destruction of such vast numbers of animals was useless and wasteful. The truth lies in the opposite direction. Many thousands of the natives joining in this unprecedented chase, obtained from its results food on which they and their families would depend through the ensuing winter. The different tribes had wagons on the field to carry off the portion of game distributed to them. This was then dried and thus turned into "bultong," and provided sustenance for communities which had little or no other means of subsistence. Nothing, therefore, was lost. In reference to this subject, see the letter of Moshesh on page 270.

(NOTE H.—See page 347.)

KAFIR SCHOOL AT ZONNEBLOEM.

THIS establishment was assisted by donations from many quarters. In particular, the Baroness Burdett-Coutts contributed very generously. Without her assistance it could not have been founded or main-

tained. Sir George Grey expressly desires that the kindness of Lady Burdett-Coutts in this matter should not be forgotten.

(NOTE J.—See pages 556, 557.)

AMERICA AND ENGLAND.

THE statement of Sir George Grey's opinion upon the claims of the United States to the leadership of the Anglo-Saxon peoples is too bald and emphatic. It is necessary both to modify and enlarge that opinion. The circumstances of the case of Samoa alluded to are peculiar, and yet illustrate the weakness of the position now held by England. Prince Bismarck had determined to enter upon a system of German colonisation. In many places where he desired to plant colonies he found that he was brought into collision with British interests or with British settlements. He had without doubt determined to annex those islands of the Navigators Group which pass by the name of Samoa, of which, between 1880 and 1887, Malietoa was the acknowledged King. Finding that the Australian colonies and New Zealand resented strongly his efforts to annex the Samoan Group, the Prince requested Sir Edward Malet, the English Ambassador at Berlin, to convey to Lord Salisbury his (Bismarck's) resolve, if necessary, to treat with France in a manner which might be prejudicial to the interests of England if he were not permitted to carry out his designs in regard to colonisation. Influenced by Continental interests, and more attentive to the chances of European complications than to the safety and the prosperity of Australasian commerce, Lord Salisbury's representa-

tives permitted their hands to be tied by the threats of the German Chancellor. Had it not been for the resolute action of the American Consul at Apia, who, acting under the advice of one of the writers, placed the islands under the protection of the American flag in the very presence of the German squadron, it is certain that Samoa would have been seized by Germany and incorporated in the German Empire. The cherished dream of Sir George Grey's life had been to exclude from the New World the policies, the rivalries, and the wars of the Old. And he felt that the true welfare and greatness of England, and the safety of that freedom to which she had been a bulwark for generations, were more closely connected with the intimate relations existing between Britain and her great dependencies and the United States than in the balance of power upon the Continent. He was convinced that in the terrible wars which probably will yet devastate the Old World, England could not take an effective part. He was equally convinced that England had no right, save in the interests of justice and of mercy, to interfere at all. To his mind the hopes of the world rested upon the increasing numbers of English-speaking peoples scattered in free communities upon the earth, asserting the dominion of the sea, and offering to the citizens and subjects of all nations who might choose to join them those advantages which freedom and boundless territories bestowed. The cautious—even timid attitude of England in relation to Samoa drew forth the passionate scorn of the colonies of Australasia and the Western States of the great Republic. Already in 1853 Sir G. Grey had warned the Imperial authorities on the occupation of New Caledonia by the French. It was well known that in anticipation of war between

England and other powers, plans had been prepared for the invasion of Australia and New Zealand. In the case of Samoa, it was not as if England were permitting Germany to occupy a desert and uninhabited territory; it deliberately sacrificed—under the stress of threats—a King and people with whom it was in solemn treaty to the tender mercies of Prince Bismarck. Beyond this, it was permitting a great nation to seize and fortify in the midst of the Southern Ocean a strong and fertile group of islands which directly command those great streams of commerce perpetually passing and repassing between Australasia and America, between America and China, Japan, and India; and which, without doubt, might easily dominate the commerce between Great Britain and her Australasian colonies. So vast were the interests involved, so wide the issues which depended upon this apparently trivial matter of the abandonment of Samoa to the Germans, that Sir George Grey feared England had taken a fatal step and dealt with her own hand a serious blow against her own supremacy. The inflexible resolution of all parties in the United States which prevented the annexation of Samoa by Germany filled him with delight, and convinced him that no questions of European politics, no outside entanglement with other nations, would prevent the United States from throwing its shield before the weakest community if the cause of human liberty and freedom could be thereby advanced. In his opinion, England and America should act conjointly. In all cases where it is distinctly in the interests of freedom and humanity, they should be guided by one spirit and work in unison for the same ends. So acting, the liberties of the world, as a whole, would receive a due consideration, and the Anglo-Saxon race would in all

human probability be left to work out its own destiny in undisturbed peace. Thus, in relation to the New World he thought that America and England should unite to prevent the intrusion of the quarrels and wars of the Old, and so ensure a new and happier future for large portions of the human race. But if Great Britain allowed her Ministers to be interfered with by foreign powers, or guided by considerations possibly inimical to the interests of her widely-scattered children, then the hopes and trust of the young nations of the future would be increasingly reposed in the judgment and sympathy of the United States.

NOTE K.—(See page 566.)

AUCKLAND LIBRARY.

OWING to the liberality of various donors, a sum of nearly sixty thousand pounds is invested for the maintenance of the Library and Art Gallery. This, with other great endowments for the support of education in Auckland made by Sir George Grey during his first government, not only fulfils the desire of the many contributors to these institutions, but secures for Auckland the possibility of the first place in literature and art south of the Line. So widely extended and numerous are the exhibitions and prizes open for competition among the scholars of Auckland, that clever and industrious youths from the various district schools are continually coming to the front and entering the lists of the higher teaching. If she desire it, the old capital of New Zealand may become the Bedford of the Southern Hemisphere. Thus in New Zealand the cost of education for the brightest and most industrious of her children, from the best days of

infancy to the highest degrees conferred by the University, is defrayed by the public purse.

WE cannot close these pages without gratefully acknowledging the assistance we have received from many quarters in compiling them. We feel greatly indebted, amongst others, to Sir George Buller, Colonel Rookes, Captain Shillington, and Sir George Whitmore. Of Sir George Grey's uniform kindness and consideration in giving free access to all sources of information it is superfluous to speak.

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